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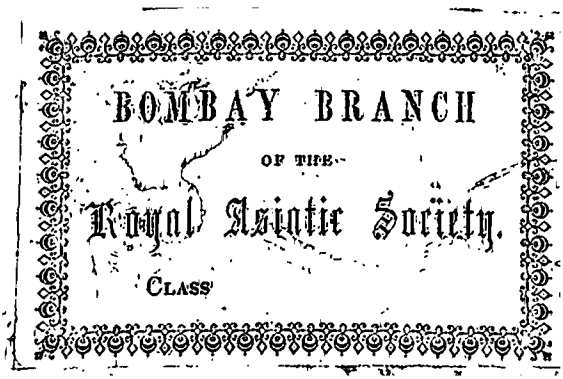

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CHART
FOR THE JOURNAL
of Mr. le Marquis de
CHASTELLUX
By Mr. DEZOTEUX
Staff Officer of the French Army
Ohio River
ALLEGANY MOUNTAINS
NORTH MOUNTAIN
BLUE MOUNTAINS
ATLANTIC OCEAN
CHESAPEAKE BAY
DELAWARE BAY
PHILADELPHIA
Derby
Chester
Wilmington
Head of Elk
Newcastle
Delaware Riv.
Baltimore
Elk ridge
Annapolis
Alexandria
Cape May
Fredricksbourg
Patowmack River
Rappahanock River
Mattapony River
Pamunkey River
Augusta
Teazes ordin
Charlottetown
Louisa Court house
Bothwell ordin
Willis ordin
Northanna
Little River
Southanna
Hanover Court house
Jones
Newcastle
Natural Bridge
Greenly ferry
Lambert
Muller
Hunter
New London
Johnson
Cumberland
James River
Richmond
Kent court house
Delaware
Powhatan
Colchester
Warwick
Birds ord.
Gloucester
Westover
Williamsburg
York
Jamestown
Petersbourg
Mayoax
Peaks of otters
Cape Charles
Cape Henry
PORTSMOUTH

TRAVELS

IN

NORTH-AMERICA,

IN THE YEARS 1780, 1781, AND 1782.

83760

BY THE

MARQUIS DE CHASTELLUX,

ONE OF THE FORTY MEMBERS OF THE FRENCH ACADEMY, AND MAJOR GENERAL IN THE FRENCH ARMY, SERVING UNDER THE COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

BY AN ENGLISH GENTLEMAN,

WHO RESIDED IN AMERICA AT THAT PERIOD.

WITH NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR.

Πολλων δ' ανθρωπων ιδεν ἀστεα και νοον εγνω. Odyſſey, B. I.

Multorumque hominum vidit urbes, & mores cognovit.

VOLUME I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR G. G. J. AND J. ROBINSON,
PATER-NOSTER ROW.
MDCCLXXXVII.

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FROM THE

FRENCH PRINTER.

THE Public have been long informed that the Marquis de Chaſtellux had written Journals of his Travels in North America, and they ſeem to have wiſhed to ſee thoſe Journals more generally diffuſed. The Author, who had arranged them ſolely for himſelf and for his friends, has conſtantly refuſed to make them public until this moment. The firſt and moſt conſiderable, in fact, were printed in America; but only twenty-four impreſſions were ſtruck off, and this with no other view than to avoid the multiplying of copies, which were become indiſpenſibly neceſſary, in a country and at a time when there was very little hope of any packets reaching Europe, but by the means of duplicates. Beſides that, he thought proper to avail himſelf of the ſmall printing preſs on board the ſquadron at Rhode Iſland. Of theſe twenty-four impreſſions, not above ten or

twelve reached Europe, and the Author had addreſſed them all to perſons on whom he could rely, and whom he had requeſted not to ſuffer any copies to be taken. The curioſity, however, which every thing reſpecting America at that time inſpired, excited much anxiety to read them. They paſſed ſucceſſively through a great many hands, and there is reaſon to believe that the readers have not all been equally ſcrupulous; nor can it even be doubted that there exiſt ſome manuſcript copies, which being haſtily executed, may be preſumed to be incorrect.

In the ſpring of 1782, the Marquis de Chaſtellux made a journey into upper Virginia; and, in the autumn of the ſame year, another into the States of Maſſachuſets, and New Hampſhire, and the back part of Penſylvania. According to cuſtom, he wrote journals of theſe expeditions; but, being on his return to Europe, he reſerved them to himſelf. Theſe therefore are known only to a few friends, to whom he lent them; for he invariably denied the requeſt of many perſons, and particularly our own,

own, to empower us to lay them before the Public. One of his friends however, who has a very extenſive correſpondence in foreign countries, having preſſed him much to furniſh him with at leaſt a few detached extracts from theſe journals, for the purpoſe of inſerting them in a periodical work printed at Gotha, the object of which is to collect ſuch works as have not been made public, he conſented; and, during a whole year, there appeared in each number of this Journal a few pages taken here and there from thoſe of the Marquis de Chaſtellux. Theſe extracts were not in a regular ſeries, and were indifferently taken from the firſt and ſecond parts of the Travels. The Author had uſed this precaution, to prevent the foreign bookſellers from collecting them, and impoſing them on the public as a compleat work. Experience has proved the inſufficiency of this precaution. A printer of Caſſel, without any ſcruple, has collected theſe detached extracts, and without announcing that they had no coherency, has printed them under the title of *Voyages de Monſieur le Chevalier de Chaſtellux*, the name the author bore two years ago. The

The publication of a work ſo mutilated and unmethodical, and which the Marquis de Chaſtellux by no means expected, ſo far from flattering, could not but be diſpleaſing to him. We deemed this a proper opportunity for renewing our inſtances to him, and have, in conſequence, obtained his original manuſcript, to which he has been pleaſed to annex the charts and plans we have made uſe of. We have loſt no time in giving it to the public, and have exerted the utmoſt pains to render it, from the execution, worthy of the importance of the ſubject, and of the name and reputation of the Author.

The two geographical charts point out, with the greateſt accuracy, not only the country which the Author has travelled through, but all the places at which he ſtopped, and which he has mentioned in his Journals. For the two charts, we are in great meaſure indebted to M. Dezoteux, Captain of Dragoons, and joint Quarter-Maſter, who has corrected and reduced them. This officer having ſerved in America, had himſelf viſited the greateſt part of the country pointed out in the charts.

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TRAVELS

IN

NORTH-AMERICA.

Journey from Newport to Philadelphia, Albany, &c.

FROM my landing at Newport, on the 11th of July, it was hardly poſſible for me to be abſent even for two days. On the 19th of that month the Engliſh fleet began to ſhew itſelf before the port; the next day we reckoned two and twenty ſail, and a few days after, we learnt that the enemy were embarking troops, nor were we informed before the middle of

Auguſt of their being again diſembarked at New York, and on Long Iſland. But ſtill it appeared by no means clear that they had abandoned their undertaking: we received every day freſh advices, which beſpoke new embarkations; on our part we were adding to our fortifications, and our ſtill recent eſtabliſhment furniſhed me with daily employment of ſuch a nature as not to admit of my abſence. M. de Rochambeau, who had long propoſed viſiting his poſts at Providence, was unable to carry his project into execution before the 30th of Auguſt. I accompanied him, and we returned the next day *. On the 18th of September he ſet out for Hartford in Connecticut, with the Admiral Chevalier de Ternay, where General Waſhington had given him a rendezvous. I did not attend him in this journey, and as fortune would have

* Let the Engliſh reader conjecture from what this General Officer has ſaid, and from what he has probably thought proper *not* to ſay, whether Sir H. Clinton, and Admiral Arbuthnot, and even the *great* Rodney were *very enterprizing Officers*. See the Gazette diſpatches of the day.

TRANSLATOR.

have it, we found ourſelves in the moſt critical ſituation in which we had been ſince our arrival. The general belief at Rhode Iſland was, that M. de Guichen, who we knew had quitted St. Domingo, was coming to join us, and we expected to go into immediate action. On the 19th, we found that inſtead of M. de Guichen, Admiral Rodney was arrived at New York with ten ſhips of the line. Not the ſmalleſt doubt was entertained amongſt us of an attack upon the French fleet, and even the army. The veſſels in conſequence were laid acroſs the harbour, with ſtrings on their cables, and their anchorage was protected by new batteries, which were conſtructed with great judgment and celerity. In the beginning of October, the ſeaſon being then advanced, without any thing being undertaken by Admiral Rodney, we had reaſon to expect that we ſhould remain quiet for the remainder of the year, and our ſole occupation was in preparing winter quarters for the troops. They took poſſeſſion of them the 1ſt of November: and I might now without riſk have ab-

ſented myſelf from the army; but not wiſhing to ſhew too much anxiety, and deſirous of ſeeing diſcipline, and the arrangements relative to the cantonments well eſtabliſhed, I deferred until the 11th ſetting out on a long tour upon the continent.

I left Rhode Iſland that day with Mr. Lynch and M. de Monteſquieu,* who had each of them a ſervant. I had three, one of whom had a led horſe, and another drove a ſmall cart, which I was adviſed to take, to convey my portmanteaus, and to avoid hurting my horſes in the journey. It was then a hard froſt, the earth was covered with ſnow, and the north eaſterly wind blew very ſharp. In going from Briſtol to the Ferry, I went out of my way to view the fortifications of *Butſhill*, and I reached the ferry at half paſt eleven †. The

* Both of theſe Gentlemen were made Colonels en ſecond, on their return to Europe; the firſt of the regiment of Walſh, and the ſecond, of the regiment of Bourbonnois.

† The ferries are over arms of the ſea, as well as rivers, and the boats have either ſails or oars.

The paſſage was long and difficult, becauſe the wind was contrary. We were obliged to make three tacks, and it was neceſſary to make two trips, to paſs over our horſes, and the cart. At two o'clock I arrived at Warren, a ſmall town in the ſtate of Maſſachuſſets, eighteen miles diſtant from Newport. I alighted at a good inn, the maſter of which, called *Buhr*, is remarkable for his enormous ſize, as well as that of his wife, his ſon, and all his family. My intention was only to have baited my horſes, but the cold continuing to increaſe, and the cart not arriving before three o'clock, I gave up all thoughts of going to ſleep at Providence, and I determined to ſtay at Warren, where I was in very good quarters. After dinner, I went to the bank of the little river Barrington, which runs near this town, to ſee a ſloop come in which had arrived from Port au Prince. This ſloop belonged to Mr. Porter, Brigadier-General of the Militia, nephew to Mr. Buhr, and ſtill more bulky than himſelf. Colonel Green whom I met upon the quay, made me acquainted with Mr. Porter, and

we drank tea with him, in a ſimple, but comfortable houſe, the inſide, and inhabitants of which preſented a ſpecimen of American manners.

The 12th I ſet out at half paſt eight for Providence, where I arrived at noon. I alighted at the College, that is to ſay, at our Hoſpital, which I examined, and dined with Mr. Blanchard, Commiſſary of war. At half paſt four I went to Colonel Bowen's, where I had lodged in my firſt journey; I drank tea there with ſeveral ladies, one of whom rather handſome, was called Miſs Angel. I was then conducted to Mrs. Varnum's, where I again found company, and from thence to Governor Bowen's, who gave me a bed.

The 13th I breakfaſted with Colonel Peck: He is an amiable and polite young man, who paſſed the laſt ſummer with General Heath at Newport. He received me in a charming ſmall houſe, where he lived with his wife, who is young alſo, and has a pleaſing countenance, but without any thing ſtriking. This little eſtabliſhment, where comfort and ſimplicity reign,

gave

gave an idea of that ſweet and ſerene ſtate of happineſs, which appears to have taken refuge in the New World, after compounding it with pleaſure, to which it has left the Old.

The town of Providence is built on the bank of a river only ſix miles long, and which diſembogues itſelf in the Gulph wherein are Rhode Iſland, Connecticut, Providence, &c. It has only one ſtreet, which is very long: the ſuburb, which is conſiderable, is on the other ſide of the river. This town is handſome, the houſes are not ſpacious, but well built, and properly arranged within. It is pent in between two chains of mountains, one to the north, and the other to the ſouth-weſt, which cauſes an inſupportable heat in ſummer; but it is expoſed to the north-weſt wind, which rakes it from one end to the other, and renders it extremely cold in winter. It may contain two thouſand five hundred inhabitants. Its ſituation is very advantageous for commerce; which accordingly is very conſiderable in times of peace. Merchant ſhips may load and unload their car-

goes in the town itſelf, and ſhips of war cannot approach the harbour. Their commerce is the ſame with that of Rhode Iſland and Boſton; they export ſtaves, and ſalt proviſions, and bring back ſalt, and a great quantity of melaſſes, ſugar and other articles from the Weſt Indies: they fit out veſſels alſo for the cod and whale fiſhery. The latter is carried on ſucceſsfully between Cape Cod and Long Iſland; but they go often as far as Baffin's Streights, and Falkland's Iſland. The inhabitants of Providence, like thoſe of Newport, alſo carry on the Guinea trade; they buy ſlaves there and carry them to the Weſt-Indies, where they take bills of exchange on Old England, for which they receive woollens, ſtuffs, and other merchandize *.

On

* Here are ſeveral places of public worſhip, an univerſity, and other public buildings; and a very briſk trade was carried on even at the worſt period of the war for American commerce, viz. in 1782.— Mr. *Welcome Arnold*, a great plumber, and Delegate to Congreſs from this ſtate, has changed his name by act of Aſſembly, ſince the defection of *Benedict Arnold*. TRANSLATOR.

On quitting Colonel Peck, I mounted my horſe for *Voluntown*, where I propoſed ſleeping. I ſtopped at *Seituate*, in a very indifferent inn, called the *Angel's Tavern*; it is about half way to Voluntown: I baited my horſes there, and ſet out in an hour, without ſeeing my cart arrive. From this place to Voluntown the road is execrable; one is perpetually mounting and deſcending, and always on the moſt rugged roads. It was ſix o'clock, and the night cloſed in, when I reached *Dorrance's Tavern*, which is only five and twenty miles from Providence. I diſmounted with the more pleaſure as the weather was extremely bad. I was well accommodated, and kindly received at Mr. Dorrance's. He is an old gentleman of ſeventy-three years of age, tall, and ſtill vigorous; he is a native of Ireland, firſt ſettled in Maſſachuſſets, and afterwards in Connecticut. His wife, who is younger than him, is active, handy, and obliging; but her family is charming. It conſiſts of two young men, one twenty-eight, and the other twenty-one years old; a child of twelve, and two girls from eighteen

teen to twenty, as handſome as angels. The eldeſt of theſe young women was ſick, kept her chamber, and did not ſhew herſelf. I learnt afterwards that ſhe was big with child, and almoſt ready to lye-in: ſhe was deceived by a young man, who after promiſing to marry her, abſented himſelf and did not return.* Chagrin and the

* On the arrival of ſeven or eight copies of this Journal, ſent to Europe by the author, the curioſity then excited by every thing relative to the affairs of America, procured them many readers. Though the author had addreſſed them only to his moſt intimate friends, and had taken the precaution to apprize them that it was not his intention they ſhould be generally public, they paſſed rapidly from one hand to another; and as they could only be lent for a ſhort time they were read with as much precipitation, as avidity. This anxiety could only proceed from the general deſire of forming ſome idea of the manners of the Americans, of which this Journal gave ſeveral details which became intereſting from the circumſtances of novelty and diſtance. From an inconſiſtency, however, more uſual in France than in any other country, ſome perſons made no ſcruple to judge the author on points of propriety, of which he alone was capable of giving them an idea: he was taxed with wantonneſs and indiſcretion, for having concealed neither

the conſequences of her ſituation had thrown her into a ſtate of languor; ſhe never came down to the ground-floor on which

names nor places in relating the adventure of a girl deceived by her lover. A very ſimple, and very natural reflection, might have convinced them, that it was by no means probable that a General Officer, a man of forty-five years of age, particularly connected with the Americans, and who has every where expreſſed ſentiments of gratitude and attachment for thoſe from whom he experienced kindneſs, ſhould allow himſelf, not only to offend, but to afflict an honeſt family, who had ſhewn him every attention, and of whom he cannot ſpeak but in terms of commendation. Beſides that the ſimple and even ſerious manner in which this article is written affords not the leaſt appearance of levity; a ſufficient reaſon for preventing the too free obſervations of certain readers. Another reflection might occur naturally enough, but which demanded a little more combination. The author wiſhes, it might have been ſaid, to give us an idea of American manners, which he is certainly very far from ſatirizing: may it not be poſſible that amongſt a people ſo remote from us in every reſpect, a girl who ſhould reſign herſelf too haſtily to the man ſhe was engaged to, with the conſent even of her parents, a girl without diſtruſt, in a country where ſuch an idea is never taught them, where morals are ſo far in their infancy, as that the commerce

which her parents lived; but great care was taken of her, and ſhe had always ſomebody to keep her company. Whilſt a good

between two free perſons is deemed leſs cenſurable, than the infidelities, the caprices, and even the coquetries which deſtroy the peace of ſo many European families? May it not be poſſible that this young woman, as intereſting as ſhe was unhappy, ſhould be lamented rather than condemned, that ſhe ſhould ſtill retain all her rights in ſociety, and become a legitimate ſpouſe and mother, though her ſtory was neither unknown, nor attempted to be concealed? In fact, how could the author learn this hiſtory? Was it by the ſcandalous chronicles in a hamlet where he was a ſtranger to every perſon but his hoſts? *I have ſince learnt* (ſays he in ſpeaking of this girl) *that ſhe was with child, and near her time of lying-in.* How did he learn this? From her own parents, who had not at firſt made a myſtery of it, and then a matter of confidence. But had theſe auſtere judges, when they had finiſhed their reading, happened to recollect what they ſaw at the beginning, they might have obſerved that the author being at Voluntown a ſecond time, two months after, ſaw Miſs Dorrance ſuckling an infant, which was continually paſſing from her knees to thoſe of her mother; that ſhe was then cheriſhed, and taken care of by all the family. This affecting ſight was deſcribed with ſenſibility, and not with malignity. But it is time to give over tiring the patience, not

good ſupper was preparing for me, I went into the room where the family was aſſembled, where I obſerved a ſhelf with forty

of the critics only, but of all ſenſible minds, thoſe minds alone whoſe approbation is of any value. On another journey to Voluntown, the author had the ſatisfaction to ſee Miſs Dorrance perfectly happy: her lover was returned, and had married her; he had expiated all his wrongs, nor had they been ſuch as they at firſt appeared; he had unfortunate circumſtances to plead in his excuſe, if there can indeed be any for a man who for a ſingle day can leave in ſuch agonies, the intereſting and weak victim who was unable to reſiſt him.

The Tranſlator, who has been at Voluntown, and enjoyed the ſociety and witneſſed the happineſs of this amiable family, is likewiſe acquainted with the whole of this ſtory. He is ſo well ſatisfied with the juſtneſs of the liberal minded author's reaſoning on American manners in this particular, that he has not ſcrupled to give the name of this worthy family at length, not apprehending that their characters would ſuffer the ſmalleſt injury, where alone the imputation is of any conſequence; nor does he fear oppoſing the virtue of this family, and of theſe manners, to European chaſtity, prudery, and refinement. The circumſtances of this ſtory were related to the Tranſlator

forty or fifty volumes on it; on opening them I found that they were all claſſical authors, Greek, Latin, or Engliſh. They belonged to Mr. Dorrance's eldeſt ſon. This young man had received a regular education, and was tutor at Providence college, until the war interrupted his ſtudies. I converſed with him on various points of literature, and particularly on the manner in which the dead languages ſhould be pro-

by Mr. and Mrs. Dorrance, with the ſame ſenſibility, and the ſame innocence, with which they appear to have told them to the Marquis de Chaſtelleux. They are a kind, hoſpitable, and amiable couple, and the huſband is very far from being ill informed; he entertained the Tranſlator with many anecdotes of the war, and with ſome laughable ones reſpecting General Preſcot, who was brought to his houſe, after being carried off without his breeches from Rhode Iſland; but never without expreſſing a becoming degree of ſenſibility for his ſituation, which was peculiarly mortifying, from his gout, his naturally peeviſh diſpoſition, the humiliating mode of his capture, and the circumſtance of its being the ſecond time of his falling into the hands of an enemy, whom he was weak enough to deſpiſe and to inſult. TRANSLATOR.

pronounced. I found him well informed, and poſſeſſed of much ſimplicity and modeſty.*

We were waited on at ſupper by a moſt beautiful girl, called Miſs *Pearce*. She was a neighbour of Mrs. Dorrance, and had come on a viſit, and to aſſiſt her in the abſence of her youngeſt daughter. This young perſon had, like all the American women, a very decent, nay even ſerious carriage; ſhe had no objection to be looked at, nor to have her beauty commended, nor even to receive a few careſſes, provided it was done without an air of familiarity or libertiniſm. Licentious manners, in fact, are ſo foreign in America, that the communication with young women leads to nothing bad, and that freedom itſelf there bears

* The Tranſlator had a great deal of converſation with this young man, and found him ſuch as the Marquis repreſents him; but he muſt likewiſe add, that he met with a great number of excellent claſſical ſcholars, in different parts of the continent, educated at Williamſburgh, Philadelphia, Yale College, Newhaven, Cambridge, and Providence, and very few deficient, eſpecially to the northward. The war did infinite miſchief to the riſing generation of America, by interrupting education. TRANSLATOR.

bears a character of modeſty far beyond our affected baſhfulneſs and falſe reſerve. But neither my excellent ſupper, nor the books of Mr. Dorrance, nor even the fine eyes of Miſs Pearce, made my cart arrive, and I was obliged to go to reſt without hearing any news of it. As I deſired a chamber with a fire in it, Miſs Pearce prepared me one, informing me at the ſame time, that it communicated with that of the ſick lady with whom ſhe ſlept, and enquired of me very politely, whether it would incommode me if ſhe ſhould paſs through my chamber after I was in bed. I aſſured her, that if ſhe diſturbed my ſleep, it would not be as a frightful dream. And, in fact, ſhe came a quarter of an hour after I was in bed. I pretended to ſleep, in order to examine her countenance; ſhe paſſed very gently, turning her head the other way, and hiding the light for fear of awakening me. I do not know whether I ſhall pronounce my praiſe or condemnation, by ſaying, that I ſoon after fell into a profound ſleep.

On my riſing I found Miſs Pearce, but not my cart, which it ſeemed more than

probable

probable was broke into a thouſand pieces. I was determined to give up that mode of conveying my little baggage, which ſtill it was neceſſary to have. I reſolved, therefore, to wait for them, and take my breakfaſt, a reſolution much eaſier adopted. At length, about eleven o'clock, my centinels announced its appearance. It was matter of great joy to the whole crew to ſee it arrive, although crippled, and towed by a hired horſe, which they had been obliged to put before mine. It is proper to obſerve, that my attendants, proud of poſſeſſing ample means of tranſporting my effects, had loaded it with many uſeleſs articles; that being appriſed myſelf that wine was not always to be met with in the inns,* I had thought proper to furniſh myſelf

* The tranſlator, when he travelled in America during the war, always carried wine with him when practicable, for at Baltimore and Philadelphia, thoſe great ſea-ports, very indifferent wine, *called* claret, was ſold at *two dollars*, upwards of 9 ſhillings a bottle, hard money. Nor was it an uncommon thing to tranſport wine from Boſton to Philadelphia by land, when the arrivals were more fortunate in that quarter. TRANSLATOR.

myſelf with cantines which held twelve bottles, and having taken the precaution to aſk for two or three white loaves of bread from the commiſſary of proviſions at Providence, he had packed up twenty, which alone weighed upwards of eighty pounds, ſo that my poor cart was laden 'till on the point of ſinking. Its greateſt misfortune, however, aroſe from ſtriking on the rocks, which had broke one wheel and greatly damaged the other. I ſoon determined to leave it with Mr. Dorrance, who undertook to get it repaired, and it was reſolved that my wine ſhould be divided into three parts, one of which ſhould be drank the ſame day, the other left with the landlord, with a requeſt to keep it till my return, and that the third ſhould be offered him, with a requeſt to drink it; which met with no difficulty. The remainder of the day, however, being dedicated to make new diſpoſitions, I determined on remaining at Voluntown. I made a general inſpection of my baggage; every thing unneceſſary was packed up and left with Mr. Dorrance; the reſt put into portmanteaus, and by a pro-

a promotion *à la Pruſſienne*, on the field of battle, my cart-horſe was elevated to the ſaddle. The reading of ſome Engliſh poets, and the converſation with Meſſrs. Lynch and Monteſquieu, and the good people of the houſe, made me paſs the day very agreeably. Towards the evening, two travellers came into the room I was in, ſeated themſelves by the fire, and began to yawn and whiſtle, without paying the leaſt attention to me. The converſation, however, gradually enlivened, and became very intereſting and agreeable. One of them was a colonel of militia, who had ſerved in Canada, and had been in ſeveral engagements, wherein he was wounded. I ſhall obſerve once for all, that among the men I have met with, above twenty years of age, of whatſoever condition, I have not found two who have not bore arms, heard the whiſtling of balls, and even received ſome wounds; ſo that it may be aſſerted, that North-America is entirely military, and inured to war, and that new levies may continually be made without making new ſoldiers. [The tranſlator confirms this aſſer-

tion, except with regard to the pacific religious ſects, in the whole extent of his obſervations from Virginia to New Hampſhire.]

The 15th, I ſet out from Voluntown at eight in the morning. I travelled five miles in the mountains, after which I ſaw the horizon expand itſelf, and my eye very ſoon had its full ſcope. On deſcending the hills, and before we reach the valley, is the town or hamlet of *Plainfield*; for what is called in America, a *town* or *townſhip*, is only a certain number of houſes, diſperſed over a great ſpace, but which belong to the ſame incorporation, and ſend deputies to the general aſſembly of the ſtate. The centre or head quarters of theſe towns, is the meeting-houſe or church. This church ſtands ſometimes ſingle, and is ſometimes ſurrounded by four or five houſes only; whence it happens, that when a traveller aſks the queſtion: *How far is it to ſuch a town?* He is anſwered, *You are there already*; but when he ſpecifies the place he wiſhes to be at, whether it be the meeting, or ſuch a tavern, he not unfrequently is told, *You are ſeven or eight miles from it.*

Plainfield

Plainfield is a ſmall town, but a large diſtrict, for there are full thirty houſes within reach of the meeting.* Its ſituation is agreeable; but it preſents, beſides, a military aſpect: this was the firſt I had remarked. An army might encamp there on little heights, behind which the hills riſe in an amphitheatre, thus preſenting ſucceſſive poſitions as far as the great woods, which would ſerve as the laſt retreat. The foot of the heights of Plainfield is fortified by moraſſes, only paſſable by one cauſeway, which would oblige the enemy to file off to attack you. (†) The right and left are ſupported by eſcarpments. On the right alſo is a marſh, which renders it more difficult of acceſs. This camp is fit for ſix, eight, or even ten thouſand men; it might ſerve to cover Providence and Maſ

* There is an academy or college here, with four Latin and Engliſh maſters, and when the tranſlator was there, he was preſent at ſome, not contemptible, public exhibitions of oratory in thoſe two languages. TRANSLATOR.

(†) In ſummer theſe moraſſes are dry. This I have ſince learnt, and which it is proper to remark, that an erroneous idea may not be formed of this poſition.

ſuchuſſet's ſtate, againſt troops who had paſſed the Connecticut river. At two miles from Plainfield the road turns towards the north, and after travelling two or three miles farther, is the river of Quenebaugh, along the edge of which we travel about a mile to paſs it at *Canterbury*, over a pretty long, and tolerably conſtructed wooden bridge. This river is neither navigable, nor fordable, but flows amidſt ſtones, which renders its bed very uneven. The inhabitants of the neighbourhood, form dams here in the ſhape of a projecting angle to catch the eels: the ſummit of the angle is in the middle of the river; there they place nets in the ſhape of a purſe, where the fiſh which follow the current of water ſeldom eſcape being caught. The bridge at Canterbury is built in rather a deep and narrow valley. The meeting-houſe of the town is on the right bank, as well as the greateſt part of the houſes, but there are ſome alſo on the eminences towards the eaſt, which appeared to me well built and agreeably ſituated. Theſe heights being of the ſame elevation with thoſe to the weſt,

weſt *, Canterbury offers two poſitions, equally advantageous for two armies, which might diſpute the paſſage of the Quenebaugh. After paſſing Canterbury, we enter the woods, and a chain of hills, which muſt be paſſed by very rugged and difficult roads. Six or ſeven miles farther, the country begins to open, and we deſcend agreeably to *Windham*. It is a very handſome little town, or rather it is the ſtock from which a handſome town will ſpring. There are forty or fifty houſes pretty near each other, and ſo ſituated as to preſent the appearance of a large public ſquare, and three large ſtreets. The *Seunganick*, or Windham river, runs near this town, but is of no great uſe to its trade, for it is no

* The tranſlator reached Canterbury on a *Sunday*, a day on which travelling is forbid in the New England ſtates. The family at *Buckhouſe's Tavern* were all at meeting, and it coſt him innumerable entreaties, beſides the moſt unequivocal proofs of *whiggiſm*, to procure a morſel of the moſt wretched fare, and to obtain which he was obliged to wait 'till the meeting was at an end. Both this town and Windham are moſt beautifully ſituated, particularly the latter, which is extremely picturesque.

more navigable than the Quenebaugh, with which it joins its waters to form the *river Thames*. It may be obſerved in reading this journal, and ſtill more by the inſpection of the Charts, that the rivers in general, and many towns, have retained their Indian names: this nomenclature has ſomething intereſting in it, as it confirms the ſtill recent origin of theſe multiplied ſettlements, and is perpetually preſenting to the mind a very ſtriking contraſt between the former, and preſent ſtate of this vaſt country.

Windham is fifteen miles from Voluntown. I there found Lauzun's huſſars, who were ſtationed in it for a week, until their quarters were prepared at *Lebanon*. I dined with the Duke de Lauzun, and being unable to get away before half after three, the night, which ſoon came on, obliged me to ſtop at ſix miles from Windham, at a little ſolitary tavern *, kept by Mrs. Hill.

As

* This tavern is called *Lebanon Crank*, and the tranſlator has made ſimilar remarks in his journal on the external appearance of, and the kindneſs that reigns within this little hut; where, a very uncommon cir-

As the houſe had an indifferent appearance, I aſked if we could have beds, the only want we had; for the Duke de Lauzun's dinner had left us in no uneaſineſs about ſupper. Mrs. Hill told me, after the manner of the country, that ſhe could only *ſpare* one bed, as ſhe had a ſick traveller in the houſe whom ſhe would not diſturb. This traveller was a poor ſoldier of the continental army, who was going home on a furlough for the benefit of his health. He had his furlough in his pocket in regular form, as well as the exact account of what was due to him, but he had not a farthing either in paper or in *hard money*. Mrs. Hill, notwithſtanding, had given him a good bed, and as he was too ill to continue his journey, ſhe had kept him, and taken care of him for four days. We arranged matters in the beſt way we could: the ſoldier kept his bed. I gave him ſome money to help him on his journey, and Mrs. Hill appeared to me

circumſtance at that time, he found excellent green tea, and fine loaf ſugar. He ſaw Mrs. Hill too feed, and relieve a travelling ſoldier.

TRANSLATOR.

me much more affected with this charity, than with the good *hard money* I gave her to pay her bill.

The 16th, at eight in the morning, I took leave of my kind landlady, and followed the road to Hartford, beginning my journey on foot, on account of the extreme coldneſs of the morning. After deſcending by a gentle declivity for about two miles, I got into a pretty narrow, but agreeable and well cultivated valley: it is watered by a rivulet which falls into the *Seunganick*, and which is decorated with the name of *Hope river*, we follow this valley to *Bolton* town, or *Townſhip*, which has nothing remarkable. There we traverſe a chain of pretty lofty mountains, which extend from north to ſouth like all the hills in Connecticut. On quitting theſe mountains, we come to the firſt houſes of *Eaſt Hartford*. Though we were but five miles from *Hartford Court Houſe*, we wiſhed to reſt our horſes, which had travelled twenty-three miles on a ſtretch. The inn we ſtopped at was kept by Mr. Marſh: he is, according to the Engliſh phraſe, a good farmer; that is, a

good

good cultivator. He told me that he had begun a ſettlement in the ſtate of *Vermont*, where he had purchaſed two hundred acres of land for forty dollars, about two hundred livres of our money, or ſomething more than eight pounds Engliſh. The ſtate of Vermont is a vaſt country, ſituated to the eaſtward of New Hampſhire and Maſſachuſſets, and to the north of Connecticut, between the river of that name, and Hudſon's river. As it is lately peopled, and has always been an object of contention between the ſtates of New York, and New Hampſhire, there is properly ſpeaking no eſtabliſhed government. *Ethan Allen*, celebrated for the expedition he undertook in 1775 againſt Ticonderago, of his own accord, and without any other aid than that of the volunteers who followed him, has made himſelf the chief of that country. He has formed there an aſſembly of repreſentatives; this aſſembly grants lands, and the country is governed by its own laws, without having any connection with congreſs. The inhabitants however are not the leſs enemies of the Engliſh; but under the

the pretext that they form the frontier againſt Canada, and are obliged to guard it, they furniſh no contingent to the expences of the war. They had long no other name than that of *Green Mountainboys*, but thinking this too ignoble an appellation for their new deſtiny, they tranſlated Green Mountain into French; which made *Verd Mont*, and by corruption Vermont. It remains to be ſeen whether it is by corruption alſo that this country has aſſumed the title of *the ſtate* of Vermont *.

About four in the evening, I arrived at Hartford ferry, after travelling over a very inconvenient road, a great part of which forms a narrow cauſeway through a marſhy wood. We paſs this ferry, like all the others

* In the years 1780, 1781, and 1782, the inhabitants of Vermont, who were *not* guided by Ethan Allen, annually ſent deputies to congreſs, and were once within *one vote* of carrying their point, but had not the peace taken place, it is probable from circumſtances, that in caſe of refuſal, they would *at leaſt* have threatened to put themſelves under Britiſh protection, an event to which the Marquis ſeems to allude. TRANSLATOR.

thers in America *, in a flat boat with oars. I found the inns at Hartford ſo full that it was impoſſible to procure a lodging. The four eaſtern ſtates of Maſſachuſſets, New Hampſhire, Rhode Iſland, and Connecticut were then holding their aſſemblies in that town. Theſe four ſtates have long maintained a particular connection with each other, and they meet together by deputies, ſometimes in one ſtate, ſometimes in another. Each legiſlature ſends deputies. In a circumſtance, ſo uncommon in America, as room being wanted for men collected together, Colonel Wadſworth's houſe offered me a moſt agreeable aſylum; I lodged with him, as well as the Duke de Lauzun, who had paſſed me on the road. Mr. Dumas †, who belonged to the ſtaff of the

* At the Moravian ſettlement of Bethlehem is a ferry paſſed by ropes, like that oppoſite the invalid hoſpital at Paris, and many others in France, and other parts of Europe. TRANSLATOR.

† The tranſlator had the pleaſure of meeting with this accompliſhed officer, at Baltimore, at Boſton, and in Europe. Nature has been very favourable to his exterior, and he unites to the moſt perfect good manners, and a thorough knowledge of the world, and books, the moſt unexampled activity in his profeſſion. TRANSLATOR.

the army, and was then attached to the Duke de Lauzun, Mr. Lynch and Mr. de Monteſquieu were well accommodated in the neighbourhood.

Colonel Wadſworth is about two and thirty, very tall and well made, and has a noble as well as agreeable countenance. He lived formerly on Long Iſland; and from his infancy was engaged in commerce and navagation: he had already made ſeveral voyages to the coaſt of Guinea and the Weſt Indies, when according to the American expreſſion, the preſent *conteſtation* began. He then ſerved in the army, and was in ſeveral actions; but General Waſhington diſcovering that his talents might be ſtill more uſefully employed, made him Commiſſary of proviſions. This is a military poſt in America, and thoſe who fill it, are as much reſpected as the firſt officer of the line. The Commiſſary General is charged with all the purchaſes, and the Quarter Maſter with all the conveyances: it is the latter who marks out the ground, eſtabliſhes the magazines, provides carriages, and diſtributes the rations: it is alſo

alſo on his receipts and orders that the Paymaſters make their payments; he is, in ſhort, properly ſpeaking, a Military Intendant, while the Commiſſary General may be compared to a *Munitionnaire* with us, who ſhould undertake to provide forage as well as proviſions. I think this arrangement as good as ours, though theſe departments have not been exempt from abuſes, and even blame in the courſe of the preſent war; but it muſt be obſerved, that whenever the government wants political force, and the treaſury is without money, the adminiſtration of affairs is always ruinous, and often culpable. This reflection alone will afford ſufficient ſubject for the eulogium of Col. Wadſworth, when it is known that throughout all America, there is not one voice againſt him, and that his name is never pronounced without the homage due to his talents and his probity. The particular confidence of General Waſhington puts the ſeal upon his merit *. The Marquis de la Fayette

* The tranſlator cannot forbear adding his teſtimony to this brilliant but exaggerated eulogium. TRANSLATOR.

Fayette judged extremely well therefore in getting Mr. de Corny to employ him, in furniſhing the proviſions neceſſary for the French troops which were then expected. As ſoon as they were diſembarked at Rhode Iſland, he again propoſed him as the moſt proper man in the world to aſſiſt them in all their wants, but thoſe who had the direction of the army did not at that time think proper to employ him. They even conceived ſome ſuſpicions of him, from falſe ideas, and eagerly ſubſtituted for a Commiſſary of underſtanding and reputation, undertakers, without fortune, and without character; who promiſed every thing, performed nothing, and ſoon threw our affairs into confuſion: firſt by augmenting the price of articles by purchaſes haſtily made, and frequently in oppoſition one to another, and finally by throwing into circulation, and offering at a great diſcount, the bills of exchange they had engaged to receive for two-thirds of all their payments. Theſe bargains, and contracts ſucceeded eventually ſo ill, that we were obliged, but too late, to have recourſe to Mr. Wadſworth, who

who reſumed the affairs with as much nobleneſs as he had quitted them; always as ſuperior to injuries by his character, as he is by his talents to the innumerable obſtacles that ſurround him.

Another intereſting perſonage was then at Hartford, and I went to pay him a viſit: this was Governor Trumbull; Governor, *by excellence*, for he has been ſo theſe fifteen years, having been always rechoſen at the end of every two years, and equally poſſeſſing the public eſteem under the Engliſh government, and under that of the Congreſs. He is ſeventy years old; his whole life is conſecrated to buſineſs, which he paſſionately loves, whether important or not; or rather, with reſpect to him, there is none of the latter deſcription. He has all the ſimplicity in his dreſs, all the importance, and even pedantry becoming the great magiſtrate of a ſmall republic. He brought to my mind the burgomaſters of Holland in the time of the Heinſiuſes and the Barnevelts. I had been informed that he was employed in a hiſtory of the preſent revolution, and I was curious to read

this work; I told him that I hoped to ſee him on my return at Lebanon, (his place of abode) and that I ſhould then requeſt permiſſion to look over his manuſcript; but he aſſured me that he had only written the introduction, which he had addreſſed to the Chavalier de la Luzerne, our ambaſſador. I procured it during my ſtay at Philadelphia, but it is only an hiſtorical recapitulation, rather ſuperficial, and by no means free from partiality in the manner of repreſenting the events of the war. The only intereſting fact I found in it, was in the journal of a *Governor Winthrop*, in the year 1670, where he ſays, that the members of the council of Maſſachuſſets, being adviſed by their friends in London to addreſs themſelves to the parliament, to whom the King then left a great deal of authority, as the beſt means of obtaining the redreſs of ſome grievances, the council, after mature deliberation, thought proper to decline the propoſal, reflecting, that if they put themſelves once under the protection of parliament, they ſhould be obliged to ſubmit to all the laws that aſſembly

bly might impoſe, whether on the nation in general, or on the colonies in particular. Now, nothing can more ſtrongly prove, that theſe colonies, even in the very origin, never acknowledged the authority of parliament, nor imagined they could be bound by laws of their making.

The 17th, in the morning, I parted with regret from my hoſt and the Duke de Lauzun; but it was not till after breakfaſt, for it is a thing unheard of in America to ſet off without breakfaſt. By this indiſpenſible delay I had an opportunity of making acquaintance with *General Parſons*. He appeared to me a ſenſible man, and he is ſo eſteemed in his country; but he has had little opportunity of diſplaying great military talents; he was, in fact, what one muſt never be, in war, or in any thing, unfortunate. His outſet was on Long Iſland, where he was taken, and he has ſince been in all the bad affairs, ſo that he is better known for his capacity in buſineſs, than for the ſhare he has had in the events of the war.

The road I had to travel becoming henceforth difficult and rather deſert, it was determined that I ſhould not exceed ten miles that day, that I might meet with good quarters; and get my horſes in order for the next day's journey. The place I was to ſtop at was *Farmington*. Mr. Wadſworth, fearing I ſhould not find a good inn there, gave me a letter of recommendation to one of his relations of the name of *Lewis*, where he aſſured me I ſhould be well received, without incommoding any perſon, and without ſtraightening myſelf, for that I ſhould pay my reckoning as at an inn. In fact, when the taverns are bad, or that they are ſo ſituated as not to ſuit the convenience of the traveller, it is the cuſtom in America, to aſk for quarters of ſome individual at his eaſe, who can ſpare room in his houſe for you, and can give ſtabling for your horſes: the traveller and his hoſt then converſe together on equal terms; but he is paid merely as an inn-keeper.

The town of Hartford does not merit any attention either in travelling through, or in ſpeaking of it. It conſiſts of a very long

long ſtreet, parallel with the river; it is pretty regular and connected, that is, the houſes are not diſtant from each other. But it has many appendages; every thing is Hartford ſix leagues round; but Eaſt Hartford, Weſt Hartford, and New Hartford are diſtinct towns, though compoſed of houſes ſcattered through the country. I have already mentioned what conſtitutes a town; it is to have one or two meetings, particular aſſemblies, and the right of ſending deputies to the general aſſembly. Theſe *townſhips* may be compared to the *curiæ* of the Romans. From a very lofty plain on the road to Farmington, one diſcovers not only all the Hartfords, but all that part of the continent watered by the river of that name, ſituated between the eaſtern and weſtern chains of mountains. This place is called *Rocky-hill.* The houſes of Weſt Hartford, frequently diſperſed, and ſometimes grouped together, and every where adorned with trees and meadows, form of the road to Farmington ſuch a garden, in the Engliſh ſtyle, as it would be difficult for art to imitate. Their inhabitants add

ſome induſtry likewiſe to their rich culture, ſome common cloths and other woollen ſtuffs are fabricated here, but of a good wear, and ſufficient to cloath the people who live in the country, or in any other town than Boſton, New York and Philadelphia. I went into a houſe where they were preparing and dying the cloth. This cloth is made by the people of the country, and is then ſent to theſe little manufactures, where they are dreſſed, preſſed and dyed for two ſhillings, *lawful money*, per yard, which makes about thirty-five ſols French, or ſeventeen-pence Engliſh, the Connecticut pound being equal to ſomething more than three dollars. I reached Farmington at three in the afternoon. It is a pretty little town, with a handſome meeting-houſe, and fifty houſes collected, all neat and well built. It is ſituated on the declivity of the mountains: the river which bears the ſame name runs at the foot of them, and turns towards the north, without ſhewing itſelf; but the view of the valley is notwithſtanding very agreeable. After diſmounting, I took advantage of the good weather,

weather, to take a walk in the ſtreets, or rather in the highways. I ſaw through the windows of a houſe that they were working at ſome trade; I entered, and found them making a ſort of camblet, as well as another woollen ſtuff with blue and white ſtripes for women's dreſs: theſe ſtuffs are ſold at three ſhillings and ſix-pence the yard lawful money, or about two and twenty-pence Engliſh. The ſons and grandſons of the family were at work: one workman can eaſily make five yards a day. The prime coſt of the materials being only one ſhilling *currency*, the day's work may amount to ten or twelve. On my return from this walk I found an excellent dinner prepared for me, without my having ſaid a word to the family. After dinner, about the cloſe of the day, Mr. Lewis, who had been abroad on his affairs during a part of the day, came into the parlour where I was, ſeated himſelf by the fire, lighted his pipe, and entered into converſation with me. I found him an active and intelligent man, well acquainted with public affairs, and with his own: he carried on a trade of cattle,

like all the farmers of Connecticut; he was then employed in furniſhing proviſions for the army, and was principally taken up in ſlaughtering, and ſalting cattle for the ſtate of Connecticut to be ſent to *Fiſh-kill*. For each ſtate is obliged to furniſh not only money, but other articles for the army: thoſe to the eaſtward ſupply it with cattle, rum, and ſalt; and thoſe to the weſtward with flour and forage. Mr. Lewis has borne arms alſo for his country: he was at the affairs of Long Iſland and Saratoga, of which he gave me an exact account; in the laſt he ſerved as a volunteer. At tea time Mrs. Lewis and her ſiſter-in-law gave us their company. Mrs. Lewis had juſt recovered from lying-in, and had her child in her arms: ſhe is near thirty, with a very agreeable face, and ſo amiable, and ſo polite a carriage, as to preſent a picture of decency itſelf, in every country in the world. The converſation was intereſtingly ſupported the whole evening. The family retired at nine o'clock; I did not ſee them in the morning, and paid my bill to the ſervants: it was neither dear nor cheap, but

but the juſt price of every thing, regulated without intereſt, and without compliments.

I got on horſeback at eight o'clock on the 18th, and at the diſtance of a mile fell in with the river of Farmington, along which I rode for ſome time. There was nothing intereſting in this part of my journey, except that having fired my piſtol at a jay, to my great aſtoniſhment the bird fell. This had been for many days an object of curioſity with me, and it is really a moſt beautiful creature. It is quite blue, but it unites all the various ſhades of that colour ſo as to ſurpaſs the invention of art, and be very difficult of imitation. I muſt remark by the bye, that the Americans call it only by the name of the *blue bird*, though it is a real jay; but the Americans are far from being ſucceſsful in enriching their native language. On every thing which wanted an Engliſh name, they have beſtowed only a ſimple deſcriptive one: the jay is the blue bird, the cardinal, the red bird; every water bird is a duck, from the teal to the *canard de dois*, and to the large

large black duck which we have not in Europe. They call them, *red ducks*, *black ducks*, *wood ducks*. It is the ſame with reſpect to their trees; the pine, the cypreſſes, the firs, are all comprehended under the general name of *pine-trees*; and if the people characterize any particular tree, it is from the uſe to which it is applied, as the *wall-nut*,* from its ſerving to the conſtruction of wooden houſes. I could cite many other examples, but it is ſufficient to obſerve, that this poverty of language proves how much men's attention has been employed in objects of utility, and how much at the ſame time it has been circumſcribed by the only prevailing intereſt, the deſire of augmenting wealth, rather by dint of labour, than by induſtry. But to return to my jay; I reſolved to make a trophy of it, in the manner of the ſavages, by ſcalping it of its ſkin and feathers; and, content

* Here the Author is a little inaccurate reſpecting the Engliſh language, as the ſame word *wall-nut*, is applied to the ſame tree in Engliſh, and with no reference whatever to any ſuch uſe.

TRANSLATOR.

content with my victory, I purſued my journey, which ſoon brought me amidſt the ſteepeſt and moſt difficult mountains I had yet ſeen. They are covered with woods as old as the creation, but which do not differ from ours. Theſe hills, heaped confuſedly one upon another, oblige you to be continually mounting and deſcending, without your being able to diſtinguiſh, in this wild region, the ſummit, which riſing above the reſt, announces to you a concluſion to your labours. This diſorder of Nature reminded me of the leſſons of him whom ſhe has choſen for her confident and interpreter. The viſion of Mr. de Buffon appeared to me in theſe ancient deſerts. He ſeemed to be in his proper element, and to point out to me, under a ſlight cruſt formed by the deſtruction of vegetables, the inequality of a globe of glaſs, which has cooled after a long fuſion. The waters, ſaid he, have done nothing here; look around you, you will not find a ſingle calcareous ſtone; every thing is quartz, granite, or flint. I made experiments on the ſtones with aquafortis, and I could

I could not help concluding, what has not obtained ſufficient credit in Europe, not only that he ſpeaks well, but that he is always in the right.

While I was meditating on the great proceſs of Nature, which employs fifty thouſand years in rendering the earth habitable, a new ſpectacle, well calculated as a contraſt to thoſe which I had been contemplating, fixed my attention, and excited my curioſity: this was the work of a ſingle man, who in the ſpace of a year had cut down ſeveral arpents of wood, and had built himſelf a houſe in the middle of a pretty extenſive territory he had already cleared. I ſaw, for the firſt time, what I have ſince obſerved a hundred times; for, in fact, whatever mountains I have climbed, whatever foreſts I have traverſed, whatever bye-paths I have followed, I have never travelled three miles without meeting with a new ſettlement, either beginning to take form, or already in cultivation. The following is the manner of proceeding in theſe improvements, or new ſettlements. Any man who is able to procure a capital of five

or

or ſix hundred livres of our money, or about twenty-five pounds ſterling, and who has ſtrength and inclination to work, may go into the woods and purchaſe a portion of one hundred and fifty or two hundred acres of land, which ſeldom coſts him more than a dollar or four ſhillings and ſix-pence an acre, a ſmall part of which only he pays in ready money. There he conducts a cow, ſome pigs, or a full ſow, and two indifferent horſes which do not coſt him more than four guineas each. To theſe precautions he adds that of having a proviſion of flour and cyder. Provided with this firſt capital, he begins by felling all the ſmaller trees, and ſome ſtrong branches of the large ones: theſe he makes uſe of as fences to the firſt field he wiſhes to clear; he next boldly attacks thoſe immenſe oaks, or pines, which one would take for the ancient lords of the territory he is uſurping; he ſtrips them of their bark, or lays them open all round with his axe. Theſe trees mortally wounded, are the next ſpring robbed of their honors; their leaves no longer ſpring, their branches fall,

fail, and their trunk becomes a hideous ſkeleton. This trunk ſtill ſeems to brave the efforts of the new coloniſt; but where there are the ſmalleſt chinks or crevices, it is ſurrounded by fire, and the flames conſume what the iron was unable to deſtroy. But it is enough for the ſmall trees to be felled, and the great ones to loſe their ſap. This object compleated, the ground is cleared; the air and the ſun begin to operate upon that earth which is wholly formed of rotten vegetables, and teems with the latent principles of production. The graſs grows rapidly; there is paſturage for the cattle the very firſt year; after which they are left to increaſe, or freſh ones are brought, and they are employed in tilling a piece of ground which yields the enormous increaſe of twenty or thirty fold. The next year the ſame courſe is repeated; when, at the end of two years, the planter has wherewithal to ſubſiſt, and even to ſend ſome articles to market: at the end of four or five years, he completes the payment of his land, and finds himſelf a comfortable planter. Then his dwelling, which

which at firſt was no better than a large hut formed by a ſquare of the trunks of trees, placed one upon another, with the intervals filled by mud, changes into a handſome wooden houſe, where he contrives more convenient, and certainly much cleaner apartments than thoſe in the greateſt part of our ſmall towns. This is the work of three weeks or a month. His firſt habitation, that of eight and forty hours. I ſhall be aſked, perhaps, how one man, or one family can be ſo quickly lodged? I anſwer, that in America a man is never alone, never an iſolated being. The neighbours, for they are every where to be found, make it a point of hoſpitality to aid the new farmer. A caſk of cyder drank in common, and with gaiety, or a gallon of rum, are the only recompence for theſe ſervices. Such are the means by which North America, which one hundred years ago was nothing but a vaſt foreſt, is peopled with three millions of inhabitants; and ſuch is the immenſe, and certain benefit of agriculture, that notwithſtanding the war, it not only maintains itſelf where-

ever

ever it has been eſtabliſhed, but it extends to places which ſeems the leaſt favourable to its introduction. Four year ago one might have travelled ten miles in the woods I traverſed, without ſeeing a ſingle habitation.

Harrington is the firſt *townſhip* I met with on my road. This place is ſixteen miles from Farmington, and eight from Litchfield. Four miles before we come to this laſt town, we paſs a wooden bridge over the river of *Waterbury*; this river is pretty large, but not navigable. Litchfield, or the *Meeting-houſe* of Litchfield, is ſituated on a large plain more elevated than the ſurrounding heights; about fifty houſes pretty near each other, with a large ſquare, or rather area, in the middle, announces the progreſs of this town, which is already the county town; for America is divided into diſtricts, called Counties, in ſome Provinces, as in England. It is in the capital of theſe counties that the court of ſeſſions is held, where the Sheriff preſides, and where the Chief Judges come every four months to decide civil and criminal affairs. Half a mile

mile on this ſide of Litchfield, I remarked, on the right, a barrack, ſurrounded by paliſades, which appeared to me like a guard-houſe; I approached it, and ſaw in this ſmall incloſure ten pieces of braſs cannon, a mortar, and a ſwivel. This I learnt was a part of Burgoyne's artillery, which fell to the ſhare of the ſtate of Connecticut, and was kept in this place as the moſt conveniently ſituated for the army, and at the ſame time the leaſt expoſed to the incurſions of the Engliſh.

It was four o'clock, and the weather very bad, when I came near the houſe of a Mr. Seymour, to whom Mr. Lewis had given me a letter, aſſuring me that I ſhould find better accommodation than at the taverns; but Mr. Lynch, who had gone on a little before to make enquiries, informed me, that Mr. Seymour was from home, and that from all appearance his wife would be much embarraſſed to receive us. The American women, in fact, are very little accuſtomed to give themſelves trouble, either of mind or body; the care of their children, that of making tea, and

ſeeing the houſe kept clean, conſtitutes the whole of their domeſtic province. I determined therefore to go ſtraight to the tavern, where I was ſtill unlucky enough not to find Mr. Philips the landlord: ſo that I was received, at leaſt, with indifference, which often happens in the inns in America, when they are not in much frequented ſituations: travellers are there conſidered as giving them more trouble than money. The reaſon of this is, that the inn-keepers are all of them cultivators, at their eaſe, who do not ſtand in need of this ſlight profit: the greateſt number of thoſe who follow this profeſſion are even compelled to it by the laws of the country, which have wiſely provided, that on all the great roads there ſhall be a public houſe at the end of every ſix miles, for the accommodation of travellers.

A ſtill greater difficulty I had at Mrs. Philips's, was, to find room for nine horſes I had with me. The Quarter-Maſter at length made them place ſome of them in the ſtable of a private perſon, and every thing was arranged to my ſatisfaction, and

that

that of my hoſteſs. I cannot help remarking, that nothing can be more uſeful than ſuch an officer, as well for the ſervice of the ſtate, as for that of any traveller of diſtinction. I have already ſpoken of the functions of the Quarter-Maſter-General, but I did not mention that he names a Deputy Quarter-Maſter-General in each ſtate, and that the latter, in his turn, names an aſſiſtant in each diſtrict to act in his room. My horſes and baggage were ſcarcely under cover, when a dreadful ſtorm came on, which however was in my favour, as it brought home Mr. Philips: every thing now aſſumed a new face in the houſe, the pantry flew open, the negroes redoubled their activity, and we ſoon ſaw a ſupper preparing with the moſt favourable auſpices. Mr. Philips is an Iriſhman, tranſlated to America, where he has already made a fortune; he appears to be cunning and adroit; and is cautious in talking to ſtrangers: in other reſpects, he is more gay than the Americans, and even given to irony; a turn of mind but little known in America, and for which they have no

ſpecific name, any more than for the different ſpecies of trees and birds. Mrs. Philips, now ſeconded by her huſband, and more miſtreſs of her work, ſoon reſumed her natural ſerenity. She is of American birth, and a true *Yankee*,* as her huſband told us; her face is gentle and agreeable, and her manners correſpond entirely with her features.

The

* This is a name given by way of deriſion, and even ſimple pleaſantry, to the inhabitants of the four eaſtern ſtates. It is thought to come from a ſavage people who formerly occupied this country, and dwelt between the Connecticut river, and the ſtate of Maſſachuſſets. The name of *Buck-ſkin* is given in the ſame manner to the inhabitants of Virginia, becauſe their anceſtors were hunters, and ſold buck, or rather deer ſkins, for we ſhall ſee in the ſecond volume that there are no roebucks in Virginia.—— The Engliſh army ſerving in America, and England herſelf, will long have reaſon to remember the contemptuous uſe they made of this term in the late unhappy war, and the ſevere retort they met with on the occaſion.—The *Engliſh army*, at Bunker's-Hill, marched to the inſulting tune of "Yankee doodle," but from that period it became the air of triumph, the Io Pœan of *America*. It was *cuckoo* to the Britiſh ear. TRANSLATOR.

The 19th I left Litchfield between nine and ten in the morning, and purſued my journey through the mountains, partly on foot and partly on horſeback; for having got into the habit of travelling from morning 'till night without ſtopping, I from time to time took pity on my horſes, and ſpared them in thoſe deſerts which ſeemed formed for the roebuck rather than for carriages and laden horſes. The name of the firſt town I came to, proclaims it to be of recent origin; it is called *Waſhington*. A new county being formed in the woods of Connecticut, the ſtate has beſtowed on it this reſpectable name, the memory of which will indiſputably exiſt much longer than the town intended to perpetuate it. There is another county of Waſhington in Virginia, belonging to the Protector of America; but its great diſtance from this new city prevents all poſſible inconvenience ariſing from the identity of name.* This capital of a riſing county has a Meeting-

* Other ſtates have likewiſe commemorated the virtues of this great man in the ſame manner.
TRANSLATOR.

houſe, and ſeven or eight houſes collected; it is in a beautiful ſituation, and the cultivation appears rich and well managed; a rivulet, which runs at the bottom of the valley, renders the meadows more fruitful than they generally are in mountainous countries.* From hence to Litchfield, they reckon,

* Two years after, the Author returned by this place, where he had only ſeen a few houſes, and a ſingle inn. The number was almoſt doubled, and there were three very good and well accommodated inns. He has remarked the ſame progreſs through almoſt all the interior parts of the country, from the bay of Cheſapeak to *Piſcataqua*, that is, through a ſpace of ſix hundred miles. This progreſs is owing, in great meaſure, even to the misfortunes of the war. The Engliſh being maſters of the ſea, made, or had it in their power to make, what they called *depredatory expeditions*. Marks of theſe horrid expeditions were every where to be met with in travelling within fifty miles of the coaſts or rivers. In one of them it was agitated by the Generals *Garth*, *Tyron*, and their officers, to burn the beautiful and popular town of *Newhaven* in Connecticut, with its handſome college, &c. *The latter General was for it*, but happily, more humane and wiſer ſpirits prevailed in the council. But this term, too ſhameful to be adopted into the vocabulary of war, denoted only a ſmall part of the ravages they actually committed; murder and conflagrations were perpetually the incidents

reckon, ſeventeen miles: I had ten miles to go to reach *Moorhouſe's* tavern, where I intended ſleeping, but not taking the ſhorteſt road, I travelled at leaſt twelve, and always among the mountains. That

which occurred. Hence it happened that the citizens who were the moſt eaſy in their circumſtances, that is to ſay, thoſe who, uniting commerce with agriculture, had their plantations near the coaſts, or the mouths of rivers, abandoned them for more tranquil habitations in the interior part of the country. The little capital they tranſported with them was employed in clearing out new ſettlements, which ſoon became proſperous. On the other hand, communications by ſea becoming impracticable, it was neceſſary to make uſe of conveyances through the country: the roads in conſequence were made better, and were more frequented; inns multiplied, as well as the eſtabliſhment of all workmen uſeful for travellers, ſuch as wheelwrights, blackſmiths, &c. So that, beſides liberty and independence, the United States will derive this advantage from the war, that commerce and population will be greatly increaſed, and that lands, which had long remained barren, have been ſo ſucceſsfully cultivated, as to prevent them from being again abandoned.——*The Tranſlator had the opportunity of making the ſame remarks, not only in a journey from Virginia to New Hampſhire, but in many of the interior parts of the continent.*

TRANSLATOR.

which I took brought me to a pretty conſiderable hamlet, called *New Milford-Bordering Skirt*, or the confines of Milford county, and from thence into ſo deep and wild a valley, that I thought myſelf compleatly loſt, until an opening in the wood made me perceive, firſt a meadow ſurrounded by fences, then a houſe, and ſoon after another, and at length a charming valley, with ſeveral conſiderable farms, covered with cattle. I ſoon croſſed this ſpot which belongs to the county of Kent, as well as the rivulet which flows through the middle of it, and after travelling three miles farther in the mountains, I reached the banks of the *Houſatonick*, or the river of Stratford. It is unneceſſary to remark that the firſt is the genuine name, that is, the name given it by the ſavages, the ancient inhabitants of the country. This river is not navigable, and is eaſily forded near *Bull's iron works*. We then turn to the left and paſs along its banks; but if one is ſenſible to the beauties of Nature, if on ſeeing the paintings of *Vernet* and *Robert*, one has learnt to admire its models, it is impoſſible

ble not to be loſt in admiration at the view of the charming landſcape, formed by the combination of the forges, of the fall of water which ſeems to work them, and of the variegated proſpect of trees and rocks, with which this picturesque ſcene is embelliſhed. At the diſtance of a mile we again paſs the ſame river on a wooden bridge; we ſoon meet with another called *Ten-mile river*, which falls into this, and which we follow for two or three miles, and then come in ſight of ſeveral handſome houſes, forming a part of the diſtrict called *The Oblong*. It is a long narrow ſlip of land, ceded by Connecticut to the ſtate of New York, in exchange for ſome other territory. The inn I was going to is in The Oblong, but two miles farther on. It is kept by *Colonel Moorhouſe*; for nothing is more common in America than to ſee an innkeeper a Colonel: they are in general militia Colonels, choſen by the militia themſelves, who ſeldom fail to entruſt the command to the moſt eſteemed, and moſt creditable citizens*,

I preſſed

* At Leeſburgh in Virginia, in my way to viſit General Gates, I ſtaid three days at the houſe of

I preſſed forward my horſes, and hurried on to get the ſtart of a traveller on horſe-back, who had joined me on the road, and who would have had the ſame right with myſelf to the lodgings, had we arrived together. I had the ſatisfaction, however, to ſee him purſue his journey; but ſoon learnt, with concern, that the little inn where I propoſed to paſs that night, was occupied by thirteen farmers, and two hundred and fifty oxen coming from New Hampſhire. The oxen were the leaſt inconvenient part of the company, as they were left to graze in a meadow hard by, without even a dog to guard them; but the farmers, their horſes, and dogs, were in poſſeſſion of the inn. They were conveying to the army a part of the contingent of proviſions furniſhed by New Hampſhire. This contingent is a ſort of tax divided amongſt all the inhabitants, on ſome of whom the impoſition amounts to

an Engliſhman, a native of Briſtol, a man of five foot high, who united, in his own perſon, the offices of *Colonel*, *Juſtice of the Peace*, *Pariſh-Clerk*, and *Inkeeper*, nor was he deficient in any of theſe functions. TRANSLATOR.

to one hundred and fifty, on others to one hundred, or eighty pounds of meat, according to their abilities; ſo that they agree amongſt themſelves to furniſh a larger, or ſmaller ſized ox, no matter which, as each animal is weighed. Their conveyance to the army is then entruſted to ſome farmers, and drovers. The farmers are allowed about a dollar a day, and their expences, as well as thoſe of the cattle, are paid them on their return, according to the receipts they are obliged to produce from the inn-keepers where they have halted. The uſual price is from three-pence to five-pence Engliſh per night for each ox, and in proportion at noon.

I informed myſelf of theſe particulars whilſt my people were endeavouring to find me lodgings; but all the rooms, and all the beds were occupied by theſe farmers, and I was in the greateſt diſtreſs, when a tall, fat man, the principal perſon amongſt them, being informed who I was, came to me, and aſſured me, that neither he, nor his companions would ever ſuffer a French General Officer to want a bed, and that they would

would rather ſleep on the floor; adding, that they were accuſtomed to it, and that it would be attended with no inconvenience. In reply, I told them I was a military man, and as much accuſtomed as themſelves to make the earth my bed. We had long debates on this point of *politeſſe*; theirs was ruſtic, but more cordial and affecting than the beſt turned compliments. The reſult was, that I had a two-bedded room for myſelf and my Aides de Camp. But our acquaintance did not terminate there: after parting from each other, I to take ſome repoſe, they to continue drinking their grog and cyder, they came into my room. I was then employed in tracing my route by the map of the country; this map excited their curioſity. They ſaw there with ſurprize and ſatisfaction the places they had paſſed through. They aſked me if they were known in Europe, and if it was there I had bought my maps. On my aſſuring them that we knew America as well as the countries adjoining to us, they ſeemed much pleaſed; but their joy was without bounds, when they ſaw New Hampſhire, their

their country, on the map. They called their companions who were in the next room; and mine was ſoon filled with the ſtrongeſt and moſt robuſt men I had hitherto ſeen in America. On my appearing ſtruck with their ſize and ſtature, they told me that the inhabitants of New Hampſhire were ſtrong and vigorous, for which there were many reaſons; that the air was excellent, their ſole occupation was agriculture, and above all that their blood was unmixed: this country being inhabited by ancient families who had emigrated from England. We parted good friends, touching, or rather ſhaking hands in the Engliſh faſhion, and they aſſured me that they were very happy to have an opportunity, *to ſhake hands with a French General* *.

The

* The Tranſlator, who as a diſintereſted, and determined friend to the rights of mankind, and to the principles of the Engliſh Conſtitution, could not but wiſh ſucceſs to America in her glorious ſtruggle; as a native of England had many ſimilar occaſions for intereſting reflections on the viciſſitude of human affairs, and of the wickedneſs of thoſe who too frequently direct them. But in no inſtance was this more ſtriking than in Virginia, where he ſaw the

The horſe which carried my portmanteau, not travelling ſo faſt as me, did not come

French army encamped on the very ſpot, from whence *Braddock* ſet out on his unfortunate expedition againſt the French, five and twenty years before. The traces of his encampment were ſtill evident. In this expedition he was not only well ſeconded by the Provincials, but had their advice been followed, his ſucceſs would have been very different. It is worth obſerving too, that no leſs than *four* of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the American Generals, were with him on the expedition. *General Waſhington* was his Aide de Camp, and after diſſuading him as much as poſſible from forming his army in the European manner, (the miſtake which proved fatal to him) received him when mortally wounded in his arms; *General Lee*, was in a detached party from the main body of the army; *General Gates* ſerved in the army, and *General Stephens* was ſhot through the body in the engagement: Lee and Gates were Engliſhmen, and Stephens a Scotchman; all the four were now become inhabitants of Virginia. On the anniverſary of that unfortunate day, the Tranſlator dined in the back part of the country at General Gates's, with General Stephens, from whom he had many curious particulars; nor was the wonderful revolution in the affairs and minds of men, the ſubject of leſs anxious diſcuſſion with them, than with the Tranſlator. At the time he is ſpeaking of; indeed, during their whole ſtay, nothing could be more cordial and ſincere than the kind reception given to the French by the Virginians. TRANSLATOR.

come up till the next morning, ſo that it was ten o'clock on the 20th of December, before I could ſet out. Three miles from Moorhouſe's is a very high hill; we then deſcend, but not quite ſo much as we aſcended; the road here is over elevated ground, leaving large mountains on the left. The country is well cultivated; affording the proſpect of ſeveral pretty farms, with ſome mills; and notwithſtanding the war, *Hopel* townſhip is building, inhabited chiefly by Dutch people, as well as the greateſt part of the ſtate of New York, which formerly belonged to the republic of Holland, who exchanged it for Surinam. My intention was to ſleep five miles on this ſide of Fiſh-kill, at Colonel Griffin's tavern. I found him cutting and preparing wood for fences: he aſſured me his houſe was full, which was eaſy to be believed, for it was very ſmall. I continued my journey therefore, and reached Fiſh-kill about four o'clock. This town, in which there are not more than fifty houſes in the ſpace of two miles, has been long the principal depot of the American army. It is there they have placed their magazines, their hoſpitals, their workſhops, &c.

but

but all theſe form a town of themſelves, compoſed of handſome large barracks, built in the wood at the foot of the mountains; for the Americans, like the Romans in many reſpects, have hardly any other winter quarters, than wooden towns, or barricaded camps, which may be compared to the *hiemalia* of the Romans.

As for the poſition of Fiſh-kill, that it was a poſt of great importance is evident from the campaign of 1777. It is clear that the plan of the Engliſh was to render themſelves maſters of the whole courſe of the North River, and thus to ſeparate the Eaſtern and Weſtern States. It was neceſſary therefore to ſecure a poſt on that river; *Weſt Point* was made choice of as the moſt important to fortify, and Fiſh-kill as the place the beſt adapted to the eſtabliſhment of the principal depot of proviſions, ammunition, &c. theſe two poſitions are connected together. I ſhall ſoon ſpeak of Weſt Point, but I ſhall remark here, that Fiſh-kill has all the qualities neceſſary for a place of depot, for it is ſituated on the high road from Connecticut, and near the North River, and is protected at the ſame time by a chain

a chain of inacceſſible mountains, which occupy a ſpace of more than twenty miles between the *Croton* river and that of Fiſh-kill.

The approach of winter quarters, and the movement of the troops occaſioned by this circumſtance, made lodgings very ſcarce: it was with difficulty I found any, but I got at laſt into a middling inn, next by an old Mrs. Egremont. The houſe was not ſo clean as they uſually are in America; but the moſt diſagreeable circumſtance was the want of ſeveral panes of glaſs. In fact, of all repairs, that of windows is the moſt difficult, in a country where, from the ſcattered ſituation and diſtance of the houſes from each other, it is ſometimes neceſſary to ſend twenty miles for a glazier. We made uſe of every thing that came to hand to patch up the windows in the beſt way we could, and we made an excellent fire. Soon after, the Doctor of the hoſpital, who had ſeen me paſs, and knew me to be a French General-Officer, came with great politeneſs to ſee if I wanted any thing, and to offer me every ſervice in his power. I

make uſe of the Engliſh word *Doctor*, becauſe the diſtinction of Surgeon and Phyſician is as little known in the army of Waſhington, as in in that of Agamemnon. We read in Homer, that the Phyſician Macaon himſelf dreſſed the wounds; but our Phyſicians, who are no Greeks, will not follow that example. The Americans conform to the ancient cuſtom, and it anſwers very well; they are well pleaſed with their Doctors, whom they hold in the higheſt conſideration. Doctor Craig, whom I knew at Newport, is the intimate friend of General Waſhington; and the Marquis de la Fayette had very lately an Aide de Camp, Colonel Mac-Henry, who the year before performed the functions of Doctor in the ſame army *.

The

* My old friend *Rumney*, whom I had the happineſs to meet with after an abſence of twenty years, during which time he has been ſettled at Alexandria in Virginia, (whoſe reſpectable father has been forty years maſter of the Latin ſchool at Alnwick in Northumberland, and his uncle Clergyman of Berwick,) had ſerved more than one campaign as Colonel, Doctor, and Surgeon in the army; he is held in the higheſt eſteem, and is on terms of the

The 21ſt, at nine in the morning, the Quarter-Maſter of Fiſh-kill, who had come the night before with the utmoſt politeneſs to offer me his ſervices, and to place two centinels at the door, an honour I refuſed in ſpight of every thing he could ſay, called upon me; and after drinking tea according to cuſtom, he conducted me to ſee the barracks, the magazines, and work-houſes of the different workmen employed in the ſervice of the army. Theſe barracks are wooden houſes, well built, and well covered, having garrets, and even cellars,

greateſt friendſhip with General Waſhington, at whoſe houſe I ſpent ſome days with him. But it is impoſſible to conceive the eſtimation in which all the medical men, attached to the army, were held during the war, by the people in general, as well as the military. I travelled from Philadelphia to the American camp on the North river, with Mr. *Craigie* of that department, a moſt reſpectable young man, and was witneſs to the grateful acknowledgments his countrymen ſeemed every where to beſtow on him, for the ſervice he was rendering their ſuffering fellow citizens, nor indeed could any thing exceed the zeal, perſeverance, and attention of this department under the moſt diſcouraging circumſtances. TRANSLATOR.

ſo that we ſhould form a falſe idea, were we judge of them by what we ſee in our armies, when our troops are *barraqués*. The Americans ſometimes make them like ours, but this is merely to cover the ſoldiers when they are more within reach of the enemy. They call theſe *huts*, and they are very expert in conſtructing one and the other. They require only three days to build the former, reckoning from the moment they begin to cut down the trees; the others are finiſhed in four and twenty hours. They conſiſt of little walls made of ſtones heaped up, the intervals of which are filled with earth kneaded with water, or ſimply with mud; a few planks form the roof, but what renders them very warm is that the chimney occupies the outerſide, and that you can only enter by a ſmall door, at the ſide of the chimney. The army has paſſed whole winters under ſuch huts, without ſuffering, and without ſickneſs. As for the barracks, or rather the little military town of Fiſh-kill, ſuch ample proviſion is made for every thing which the ſervice and diſcipline of the army may require,

require, that a prévôté and a priſon are built there, ſurrounded by palliſades. One gate only affords acceſs to the incloſure of the prévôté; and before it is placed a guard-houſe. Through the window-bars of the priſon, I diſtinguiſhed ſome priſoners, with the Engliſh uniform; they were about thirty ſoldiers, or regimented *Tories*. Theſe wretches had accompanied the ſavages in the incurſion they had made by Lake Ontario and the Mohawk river. They had burnt upwards of two hundred houſes, killed the horſes and cows, and deſtroyed above one hundred thouſand buſhels of corn. The gallows ſhould have been the reward of theſe exploits, but the enemy having alſo made ſome priſoners, repriſals were dreaded, and theſe robbers were only confined in rigorous and cloſe impriſonment.

After paſſing ſome time in viſiting theſe different ſettlements, I got on horſeback, and under the conduct of a guard which the Quarter-Maſter gave me, I entered the wood and followed the road to Weſt Point, where I wiſhed to arrive for dinner. Four or five miles from Fiſh-kill, I ſaw ſome felled

felled trees, and an opening in the wood, which on coming nearer I diſcovered to be a camp, or rather huts inhabited by ſome hundred invalid ſoldiers. Theſe invalids were all in very good health; but it is neceſſary to obſerve, that in the American armies, every ſoldier is called an invalid, who is unfit for ſervice: now theſe had been ſent here becauſe their cloaths where truly invalids. Theſe honeſt fellows, for I will not ſay creatures, (they know too well how to ſuffer, and are ſuffering in too noble a cauſe) were not covered, even with rags; but their ſteady countenances, and their arms in good order, ſeemed to ſupply the defect of cloaths, and to diſplay nothing but their courage and their patience. Near this camp I met with Major *Liman* Aid de Camp to *General Heath*, with whom I was particularly intimate at Newport, and Mr. de Ville Franche, a French officer, ſerving as an Engineer at Weſt-Point. General Heath had been informed of my arrival by an expreſs, ſent without my knowledge, by the Quarter-Maſter of Fiſh-kill, and he had diſpatched theſe two officers

officers to meet me. I continued my journey in the woods, in a road hemmed in on both ſides by very ſteep hills, which ſeemed admirably adapted for the dwelling of bears, and where in fact they often make their appearance in winter. We availed ourſelves at length of a leſs difficult part of theſe mountains to turn to the Weſtward and approach the river, but which is ſtill inviſible. Deſcending them ſlowly, at the turning of the road, my eyes were ſtruck with the moſt magnificent picture I had ever beheld. It was a view of the North-river, running in a deep channel formed by the mountains, through which in former ages it had forced its paſſage. The fort of Weſt-Point and the formidable batteries which defend it fix the attenton on the Weſtern bank, but on lifting your eyes you behold on every ſide lofty ſummits, thick ſet with redoubts, and batteries. I leaped off my horſe, and viewed them a long time with my ſpying glaſs, the only method of acquiring a knowledge of the whole of the fortifications with which this important poſt is ſurrounded. Two lofty

heights, on each of which a large redoubt is conſtructed, protect the Eaſtern bank. Theſe two works have no other name than the Northern, and the Southern Redoubts; but from the fort of Weſt-Point properly ſo called, which is on the edge of the river, to the very top of the mountain at the foot of which it ſtands, are ſix different forts, all in the form of an amphitheatre, and protecting each other. They compelled me to leave this place, where I ſhould willingly have ſpent the whole day, but I had not travelled a mile before I ſaw the reaſon of their hurrying me. I perceived a corps of infantry of about two thouſand five hundred men, ranged in a line of battle on the bank of the river. They had juſt paſſed it to proceed by *Kingsbridge*, and cover a grand foraging party which it was propoſed to ſend towards the White-Plains, and to the gates of New York. *General Stark*, who beat the Engliſh at *Bennington*, had the command of theſe troops, and General Heath was at their head; he was deſirous of letting me ſee them before they marched. I paſſed before the ranks, being ſaluted

ſaluted with the eſpontoon by all the officers, and the drums beating a march, an honour paid in America to Major-Generals, who are the firſt in rank, though it only correſponds with our *Marechal de Camp*. The troops were ill cloathed, but made a good appearance; as for the officers they were every thing that could be wiſhed, as well for their countenance, as for their manner of marching, and giving the command. After paſſing the front of the line, they broke it, filed off before me, and continued their route. General Heath conducted me to the river, where his barge was waiting to carry me to the other ſide. A new ſcene now opend to my view, not leſs ſublime than the former. We deſcended with our faces towards the north: on that ſide is an iſland covered with rocks, which ſeem to cloſe the channel of the river, but you ſoon perceive, through a ſort of embraſure formed by its bed in ſeparating immenſe mountains, that it comes obliquely from the weſtward, and that it has made a ſudden turn round Weſt-Point to open itſelf a paſſage, and to endeavour to gain

gain the ſea, without making hereafter the ſmalleſt bend. The eye carrying itſelf towards the North-Bay and *Conſtitution Iſland*, (the iſle I have been ſpeaking of) again perceives the river, diſtinguiſhes *New Windſor* on its left bank, and is then attracted by different amphitheatres formed by the Apalachian Mountains, the neareſt ſummits of which, that terminate the ſcene, are diſtant upwards of thirty miles. We embarked in the barge, and paſſed the river, which is about a mile wide. As we approached the oppoſite ſhore, the fort of Weſt-Point, which, ſeen from the eaſtern bank, ſeemed humbly ſituated at the foot of the mountains, elevated itſelf to our view, and appeared like the ſummit of a ſteep rock; this rock however was only the bank of the river. Had I not remarked that the chinks on it, in ſeveral places, were embraſures for cannon, and formidable batteries, I ſhould ſoon have been appriſed of it by thirteen 24-pounders, which were fired ſucceſſively. This was a military ſalute, with which General Heath was pleaſed to honour me in the name of the Thirteen States.

States. Never was honour more commanding, nor more majeſtic; every gun, was, after a long interval, echoed back from the oppoſite bank, with a noiſe nearly equal to that of the diſcharge itſelf. When we recollect that two years ago Weſt-Point was a deſert, almoſt inacceſſible, that this deſert has been covered with fortreſſes and artillery, by a people, who ſix years before had ſcarcely ever ſeen cannon; when we reflect that the fate of the United States depended in great meaſure on this important poſt; and that a horſe dealer *, transformed into a General, or rather become a hero, always intrepid, always victorious, but always purchaſing victory at the price of his blood; that this extraordinary man, at once the honour, and the opprobrium of his country, actually ſold, and expected to deliver this *Palladium* of American liberty to the Engliſh; when ſo many extraordinary circumſtances are brought together in the phyſical and moral order of things, it may eaſily be imagined that I had ſufficient exerciſe for reflection, and that I did not tire on the road.

* Benedict Arnold. TRANSLATOR.

On landing, or rather on climbing the rocks on the banks of the river, we were received by Colonel Lamb, and Major Bowman, both officers of artillery; by Major Fiſh, a handſome young man, witty and well formed; and Major Franks, formerly Aid de Camp to Arnold. The latter had been tried and honourably acquitted by a council of war, demanded by himſelf after the eſcape and treaſon of his General. He ſpeaks good French, as well as Colonel Lamb, which they both learnt in Canada, where they were ſettled.* The latter received a muſquet ſhot in his jaw at the attack of Quebec, fighting by the ſide of Arnold, and having early penetrated into the upper town. Preſſed by dinner time we went immediately to General Heath's barrack. The fort, which was begun on much too extenſive a plan, has been ſince curtailed by Mr. du Portail, ſo that this barrack is no longer within its precincts. Around it are ſome magazines, and farther to the north-weſt, barracks for three or four

* Mr. Franks is the ſon of a Canadian Jew. TRANSLATOR.

four battalions; they are built of wood, and ſimilar to thoſe of Fiſh-kill. Whilſt dinner was preparing, General Heath took me into a little cloſet, which ſerved him as a bedchamber, and ſhewed me the inſtructions he had given General Stark for the grand foraging party he commanded. This expedition required a movement of troops in a ſpace of more than fifty miles; and I can affirm, that they were as well conceived as any inſtructions of that kind I have ever ſeen, either in print, or manuſcript. He ſhewed me alſo a letter in which General Waſhington only ordered him to ſend this detachment, and pointed out its object, without communicating to him, however, another operation connected with it, which was to take place on the right bank of the North-River. From various intelligence, by indirect ways, General Heath was perſuaded, that in caſe the enemy collected his force to interrupt the forage, Mr. de la Fayette would attack *Staten Iſland*, and he was not deceived; but Mr. Waſhington contented himſelf with announcing generally ſome movements on his

his ſide, adding, that he waited for a more ſafe method of communicating the nature of them to General Heath. Secrecy is ſtrictly obſerved in the American army; very few perſons are in the confidence of the Commander, and in general there is leſs ſaid of the operations of war, of what we call news, than in the French army.

General Heath is ſo well known in our little army, that I ſhould diſpenſe with entering into particulars reſpecting him; if this Journal, in which I endeavour to recollect what little I have ſeen in this country, were not deſtined at the ſame time to ſatisfy the curioſity of others who have not croſſed the ſea, and to whoſe amuſement I am deſirous of contributing. This General was one of the firſt who took up arms, at the blockade of Boſton, and having at firſt joined the army in the quality of Colonel, he was immediately raiſed to the rank of Major-General. He was at that time a ſubſtantial farmer or rich gentleman; for we muſt not loſe ſight of the diſtinction, that in America, *farmer* means cultivator, in oppoſition to *merchant*, which every

every man is called who is employed in commerce. Here, as in England, by *gentleman*, is underſtood a perſon poſſeſſing a conſiderable *freehold*, or land of his own. General Heath, then, was a farmer or gentleman, and reared, on his eſtate, a great number of cattle, which he ſold for ſhips proviſions. But his natural taſte led him to the ſtudy of war; to which he has principally applied himſelf ſince the period in which his duty has concurred with his inclination; he has read our beſt authors on tactics, and eſpecially the Tactics of Mr. Guibert, which he holds in particular eſtimation. His fortune enabling him to continue in the ſervice, notwithſtanding the want of pay, which has compelled the leſs rich to quit it, he has ſerved the whole war; but accident has prevented him from being preſent on the moſt important occaſions. His countenance is noble and open; and his bald head, as well as his corpulence, give him a ſtriking reſemblance to the late *Lord Granby*. He writes well and with eaſe; has great ſenſibility of mind, and a frank and amiable character;

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in ſhort, if he has not been in the way of diſplaying his talents in action, it may be at leaſt aſſerted, that he is well adapted to the buſineſs of the cabinet. His eſtate is near Boſton, and he commanded there when Burgoyne's army were brought priſoners thither. It was he who put the Engliſh General Philips in arreſt,* for want of

* It may now be mentioned, without any invidious imputation, that the conduct of too many of the Britiſh officers, when priſoners in America, was as injurious to the honour and intereſt of their country, as deſtitute of good ſenſe and common policy; of this the Tranſlator ſaw many examples which made him bluſh for England. At Lancaſter in Pennſylvania, in particular, he was preſent at a court of enquiry, inſtituted into the conduct of ſome Britiſh officers who had broken their parole more than once, and inſulted and beat the inhabitants of the country; nothing could be clearer or more deciſive than the evidence, nor more polite and indulgent than the behaviour of the American officers who conſtituted the court, yet were they openly inſulted and contemptuouſly treated by theſe magnanimous gentleman officers. Their names are with-held by the Tranſlator, on account of their families; they were a part of the army taken at York-Town, with Cornwallis. Captain Grenville of the Guards, and others who conducted themſelves really like genlemen, can ſay how well they were treated. TRANSLATOR.

of reſpect to the Congreſs; his conduct on this occaſion was firm and noble. On our arrival at Rhode Iſland, he was ſent there; and ſoon after, when Clinton was preparing to attack us, he aſſembled and commanded the militia, who came to our aſſiſtance. During his ſtay at Newport, he lived honourably, and in great friendſhip with all the French officers. In the month of September, General Waſhington, on diſcovering the treaſon of Arnold, ſent for him, and gave him the command of Weſt-Point; a mark of confidence the more honourable, as none but the honeſteſt of men was proper to ſucceed, in this command, the baſeſt of all traitors.

After giving this advantageous but juſt idea of General Heath, I cannot but congratulate myſelf on the friendſhip, and thorough good underſtanding which ſubſiſted between us during his ſtay at Newport, where my knowledge of the Engliſh language rendered me the medium in all affairs we had to tranſact with him. It was with real ſatisfaction he received me at Weſt-Point; he gave me a plain but very

good dinner. It is true there was not a drop of wine; but I find that with excellent cyder, and *toddy*, one may very well diſpenſe with it. As ſoon as we roſe from table, we hurried to avail ourſelves of the remaining daylight to examine the fortifications. The firſt fort we met with above Weſt-Point, on the declivity of the mountain, is called *Fort-Putnam*, from the General of that name. It is placed on a rock very ſteep on every ſide; the ramparts were at firſt conſtructed with trunks of trees; they are rebuilt with ſtone, and are not quite finiſhed. There is a powder magazine bomb-proof, a large ciſtern, and ſouterrains for the garriſon. Above this fort, and when we reach the loftieſt ſummit, there are three ſtrong redoubts lined with cannon, at three different eminences, each of which would require a formal ſiege. The day being nearly ſpent, I contented myſelf with judging by the eye of the very intelligent manner in which they are calculated for mutual protection. Fort *Wallis*, whither General Heath conducted me, was nearer and more acceſſible. Though it be

placed

placed lower than fort *Putnam*, it ſtill commands the river to the ſouth. It is a large pentagonal redoubt, built of huge trunks of trees; it is picketed, and lined with artillery. Under the fire of this redoubt, and lower down, is a battery of cannon, to range more obliquely the courſe of the river. This battery is not cloſed at the gorge, ſo that the enemy may take, but can never keep it; which leads me to remark that this is the beſt method in all field fortifications. Batteries placed in works, have two inconveniences: the firſt is, that if theſe works be ever ſo little elevated, they do not graze ſufficiently; and the ſecond, that the enemy may at once attack the redoubt and the battery: whereas the latter being exterior and protected by the redoubt, muſt be firſt attacked; in which caſe it is ſupported by troops who have nothing to fear for themſelves, and whoſe fire is commonly better directed, and does more execution. A battery yet lower, and nearer to the river, compleats the ſecurity of the ſouthern part.

In returning to Weſt-Point, we ſaw a redoubt that is ſuffered to go to ruin, as being uſeleſs, which in fact it is. It was night when we got home, but what I had to obſerve did not require daylight. It is a vaſt ſouterrain, formed within the fort of Weſt-Point, where not only the powder and ammunition neceſſary for this poſt are kept in reſerve, but the depoſit of the whole army. Theſe magazines compleatly filled, the numerous artillery one ſees in theſe different fortreſſes, the prodigious labour neceſſary to tranſport, and pile up on ſteep rocks, huge trunks of trees, and enormous hewn ſtones, impreſs the mind with an idea of the Americans very different from that which the Engliſh miniſtry have laboured to give to Parliament. A Frenchman would be ſurprized that a nation, juſt riſing into notice, ſhould have expended in two years upwards of twelve millions (half a million ſterling) in this deſert. He would be ſtill more ſo on learning that theſe fortifications *coſt nothing to the ſtate, being built by the ſoldiers, who received not*

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the ſmalleſt gratification, and who did not even receive their ſtated pay; * but he would doubtleſs feel ſome ſatisfaction, in hearing

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* The zeal, perſeverance, and, I may ſay, *honour*, which ſhone forth in the American army, in the moſt arduous and extraordinary circumſtances, almoſt ſurpaſs credibility. They were in general moſt wretchedly cloathed, ſeldom received any pay, were frequently in want of every thing, from the public ſcarcity of money, and the conſequent indifference of the contractors, and had daily temptations thrown out to them of the moſt alluring nature. This army was compoſed of all nations, yet they ſeemed to be pervaded but by one ſpirit, and fought, and acted with as much enthuſiaſtic ardor, as the moſt enlightened and determined of their leaders. We all remember, when their intolerable diſtreſſes drove part of them to revolt in 1780, when Clinton ſent emiſſaries among them, with the moſt advantageous offers, and made a movement of his army to favour their deſertion, that they diſdainfully refuſed his offers, appealing to their *honour*, and delivered up, with indignation, the Britiſh emiſſaries, who were executed at Trentin. *Mr. Hugh Shield*, and *Mr. John Maxwell Neſbett*, two Iriſh gentlemen ſettled atPhiladelphia, who were entruſted with the care of them, informed the Tranſlator, that one of them was an officer of ſome note in the Britiſh army. On the morning of their execution, this gentleman deſired Mr. Shield to accompany him to the neceſſary, wherein he ſtaid ſome time, apparently with

that theſe beautiful and well contrived works, were planned and executed by two French Engineers, *Mr. du Portail*, and *Mr. du Gouvion*, who received no more pay than their workmen.

But in this wild and warlike abode, where one ſeems tranſported to the bottom of Thrace and the dominions of the god Mars, we found, on our return in the evening, ſome pretty women, and an excellent diſh of tea. Mrs. Boman, wife of the Major of that name, and a young ſiſter who

the hopes of effecting his eſcape, but this failing, he addreſſed that gentleman as follows. "I ſee, Sir, "that you are faithful to the truſt repoſed in you, "and that my die is caſt; but as you are a gentle-"man, I hope you will not fail to let General "Clinton know, that my fidelity is unſhaken, that "I die a loyal ſubject to George the Third, and that "I hope he will not forget my family." He then made a hearty breakfaſt of cold beef, and was executed with his companion on a tree near the river Delaware, full of courage, and making the ſame declarations. To account for the ſubordinate ſituation in which Meſſrs. Neſbitt and Shield appear to have acted on this occaſion, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that on all emergencies the merchants of Philadelphia flew to arms and acted as common ſoldiers.

TRANSLATOR.

who had accompanied her to Weſt-Point, were waiting for us. They lodged in a little barrack neatly arranged. The room they received us in, was hung with handſome paper, furniſhed with mahogany tables, and even ornamented with ſeveral prints. After ſtaying a little time, it was neceſſary to return to General Heath's quarters, and to diſpoſe matters for paſſing the night, which was not an eaſy affair; for the company were much increaſed in the courſe of the evening, by the arrival of the Vicomte de Noailles, the Comte de Damas, and the Chevalier Dupleſſis. Mauduit had reached Weſt-Point, which poſt they had intended to examine minutely; but the motions of the American army determined them to ſet out with me, in order to join Mr. de la Fayette, the next evening, or early the following morning. Though General Heath had a great deal of company to provide for, his *Marechal de Logis*, had not much to do: there were only three rooms in the barracks; the General's chamber, that of his Aid de Camp, who reſigned it to me; and the dining-room,

in which ſome blankets were ſpread before a large fire, where the other gentlemen paſſed as comfortable a night as could be expected. The morning gun ſoon ſummoned them from their beds; the blankets were removed, and the dining-room, reſuming its rights, was quickly furniſhed with a large table covered with beef-ſteaks, which we eat with a very good appetite, ſwilling down from time to time a cup of tea. Europeans would not find this food and drink, taken together, to their taſte; but I can aſſure you that it made a very comfortable breakfaſt. There now fell a very heavy rain, which had begun in the night, and ſtill continued, with a dreadful wind, which rendered the paſſage of the ferry very dangerous for our horſes, and prevented us from making uſe of the ſail, in the barge General Heath had given us, to carry us to King's-Ferry. In ſpight of all theſe obſtacles we embarked under the firing of thirteen guns, notwithſtanding our repreſentations to the contrary. Another circumſtance, however, gave additional value to theſe honours, for the

pieces

pieces they diſcharged had belonged to Burgoyne's army. Thus did the artillery ſent from Woolwich to Canada in 1777, now ſerve to defend America, and do homage to her allies, until it was to be employed in the ſiege of New York.

General Heath, who was detained by buſineſs at Weſt-Point, ſent Major Liman to accompany me to *Verplank's-Point*, where we did not arrive till between twelve and one, after a continued journey amidſt the immenſe hills which cover this country, and leave no other interval than the bed of the river. The higheſt of them is called *Anthony's Noſe*, it projects into the river, and compels it to make a little change in its courſe. Before we arrive at this point, we ſee the ruins of fort Clinton: this fort, which was named after the Governor of the ſtates of New York, was attacked and taken in 1777 by the Engliſh General Clinton, as he was remounting the river to Albany to *give his hand* to Burgoyne.* It was then the

* A poor fellow who was ſent with a letter from Burgoyne to Clinton incloſed in a ſilver bullet, miſcarried in his meſſage, and loſt his life by the

the principal fort on the river, and built on a rock, at the foot of a mountain, thought to be inacceſſible, and was farther defended by a little creek which falls into the main river. Sir Henry Clinton ſcaled the top of the mountain, himſelf carrying the Britiſh colours, which he always held aloft, until his troops deſcended the ſteep rock, paſſed the creek, and carried the poſt. The garriſon, conſiſting of 700 men, were almoſt all taken. Since the defeat of Burgoyne, and the alliance with France has changed the face of affairs in America, General Waſhington has not thought proper to repair fort Clinton; he preferred placing his communication and concentring his forces at Weſt-Point, becauſe the *Hud-*

ſon

ſameneſs of names of the American and Britiſh commanders. Falling in, in the woods, with a party of Americans cloathed in Britiſh uniform, which they had taken, he enquired eagerly for *General Clinton*, to whom he was inſtantly conducted, but on diſcovering that it was not *the Clinton* he was in ſearch of, in the face of a number of ſpectators, he ſwallowed the bullet. Emetics and purgatives were inſtantly adminiſtered, which made him diſgorge, and the unfortunate fellow was hanged on the next tree. TRANSLATOR.

ſon there makes a circuit which prevents veſſels from remounting with the wind abaft, or with the tide; and Conſtitution Iſle, which is preciſely at the turn of the river, in a direction north and ſouth, is perfectly well ſituated to protect the chain which cloſes the paſſage for ſhips of war.

The Engliſh, however, had preſerved a very important poſt at King's Ferry, where they were ſufficiently well fortified; ſo that by the aid of their ſhips, they were maſters of the courſe of the river for the ſpace of more than fifty miles, and were thus able to repel to the northward the very important communication between the Jerſeys and Connecticut. Such was the ſtate of things, when, in the month of June, 1779, *General Wayne*, who commanded in the Clove a corps of 1500 men, formed the project of ſurprizing *Stoney Point*. This fort was in an entrenchment, ſurrounded with abattis, which crowned a ſteep rock, and formed a well picketed redoubt. General Wayne marched, in the night, in three columns, the principal of which was led on by Monſieur de Fleury, who, without

out firing a muſquet, forced the abattis, and entrenchments, and entered the redoubt with the fugitives.* The attack was ſo briſk on the part of the Americans, and ſuch the terror of the Engliſh, that Mr. de Fleury, who was the firſt that entered, found himſelf in an inſtant loaded with eleven ſwords which were delivered to him by thoſe who aſked for quarter. It muſt be added to the honour of our allies, that from that moment not a drop of blood was ſpilt.† The Americans, once maſters of one

* This officer had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf on many occaſions, particularly at the retreat of General Sullivan from Rhode Iſland, and at the defence of Mud Iſland. He went to America in 1777. He has ſince been Major of the regiment of Saint Onge, and ſerved as Major of brigade in the army of the Count de Rochambeau. On his return to France, he was made Colonel of the regiment of Pondicherry, and is now in India.

† I cannot here reſiſt a pang of ſorrow for the dreadful conſequences of the late deſperate and fatal war. *Captain Jew* of the 17th regiment, as brave an officer, and as amiable a man as ever lived, whom I had long known and eſteemed, when ſerving with our common friend *Montgomery* in that regiment, here loſt his life, refuſing to take quarter. This

one of the banks of the river, loſt no time in getting poſſeſſion of the other. Mr. de Gouvion conſtructed a redoubt at *Verplank's Point*, (nearly oppoſite) where we landed, and where, by a lucky accident, we found our horſes, arrived as ſoon as us. This redoubt is of a peculiar form, hardly ever uſed but in America: the ditch is within the

gallant man was already perforated with wounds received in Canada and the Weſt-Indies, fighting under his Colonel, *General Monckton*, in the preceding war, and was ſuch a ſpectacle of a wounded body ſtill in life, as to be particularly pointed out to the King his maſter's notice at a review of the regiment near London in 1770 or 1771; *the King* aſked him many queſtions, ſeemed much affected with his ſituation, expreſſed his pity, and——he was left to pine a ſubaltern, and to follow his regiment once more to ſcenes of war and a diſtant climate. He deeply felt this ever after, and chagrin, no doubt, added to his deſpair, had made him wiſh for death. The fate of my moſt intimate and lamented friend, Montgomery, who fell, as he thought in a better cauſe, and on the very ſpot where he had attended *Wolfe* to victory and glory, affords ample food for melancholy reflection, not eaſy to be effaced from ſuſceptible minds, and who have felt a double loſs of friends, in the horrors of this deteſtable war.

TRANSLATOR.

the parapet, which is made ſteep on both ſides, and picketed at the height of the cordon; lodgings for the ſoldiers are formed below. The middle of the work is a ſpace conſtructed with wood, and in the form of a ſquare tower. There are battlements every where, and it commands the rampart. An abattis formed of the tops of trees interwoven, ſurrounds the whole, and is a ſubſtitute for a covered way. We may eaſily perceive that ſuch a work cannot be inſulted, nor taken without cannon. Now as this is backed by the mountains, of which the Americans are always maſters, it is almoſt impoſſible that the Engliſh ſhould beſiege it. A creek which falls into Hudſon's river, and runs to the ſouthward of this redoubt, renders its poſition ſtill more advantageous. *Colonel Livingſton*, who commands at King's Ferry, has eſtabliſhed himſelf there in preference to Stoney Point, to be nearer the White Plains, where the Engliſh frequently make incurſions. This is a very amiable and well informed young man. Previous to the war he married in Canada, where he has acquired the French

French language: in 1775, he was one of the firſt who took arms; he fought under the orders of *Montgomery*, and took fort Chambly, whilſt the former was beſieging St. John's. He received us in his little citadel with great politeneſs; but to leave it with the honours of war, the American laws required that we ſhould breakfaſt: It was the ſecond we had taken that day, and conſiſted of beef-ſteaks, and tea, accompanied with a few bowls of grog; for the commander's cellar was no better ſtored than the ſoldiers wardrobe. The latter had been ſent into this garriſon as being the worſt clothed of the whole American army, ſo that one may form ſome idea of their dreſs.

About two o'clock we croſſed the river, and ſtopped to examine the fortifications of Stoney Point. The Americans finding them too extenſive, had reduced them to a redoubt, nearly ſimilar to that of Verplanks, but not quite ſo good. There I took leave of Mr. Livingſton, who gave me a guide to conduct me to the army, and I ſet off, preceded by Meſſieurs de Noailles, de Damas,

and

and de Mauduit, who wiſhed to join Mr. de la Fayette that night, tho' they had thirty miles to go, through very bad roads. This impatience was well ſuited to their age; but the intelligence I collected proving to me that the army could not move before the the next day, I determined to ſtop on the road, content to profit by the little day-light that remained to travel ten or twelve miles. On leaving the river, I frequently turned round to enjoy the magnificent ſpectacle it preſents in this place, where its bed becomes ſo large, that in viewing it to the ſouthward, it has the appearance of an immenſe lake, whilſt the northern aſpect is that of a majeſtic river. I was deſired to obſerve a ſort of promontory, from whence Colonel Livingſton had formed the project of taking the *Vulture* ſloop of war, which brought *André*, and was waiting for *Arnold*. This veſſel having come too near the ſhore, grounded at low water; the Colonel acquainted Arnold with it, and aſked him for two pieces of heavy cannon, aſſuring him that he would place them ſo as to ſink her. Arnold eluded the propoſal on frivolous pretences,

pretences, ſo that the Colonel could only bring one four-pounder, which was at *Verplank's* to bear on her. This piece raked the veſſel fore and aft, and did her ſo much damage, that if ſhe had not got off with the flood, ſhe muſt have ſtruck. The next day, Colonel Livingſton being on the ſhore, ſaw Arnold paſs in his barge, as he was going down the river to get on board the frigate. He declares that he had ſuch a ſuſpicion of him, that had his guard boats been near, he would have gone after him inſtantly, and aſked him where he was going. This queſtion probably would have embarraſſed the traitor, and Colonel Livingſton's ſuſpicions being thence confirmed, he would have arreſted him *.

* There is every reaſon to believe that Arnold's treachery took its date from his connection with Lieutenant *Hele*, killed afterwards on board the Formidable in the Weſt Indies, and who was undoubtedly a very active and induſtrious ſpy at Philadelphia in the winter of 1778, whither he was ſent for that purpoſe in a pretended flag of truce, which being wrecked in the Delaware, he was made priſoner by Congreſs, a ſubject of much diſcuſſion between them, and the commander at New York. That the in-

My thoughts were occupied with Arnold and his treaſon, when my road brought me to *Smith*'s famous houſe where he had his interview with André, and formed his horrid plot. It was in this houſe they paſſed the night together, and where André changed his cloaths. It was there that the liberty of America was bargained for and ſold; and it was there that chance, which is always the arbiter of great events, diſconcerted this horrible project, and that ſatisfied with ſacrificing the imprudent André, ſhe prevented the crime, only by the eſcape of the criminal. André was repaſſing the river quietly, to gain New York by the White Plains, had not the cannon fired at the

tended plot was known in England, and great hopes built upon it, long before it was to take place, is certain. General Matthews and other officers who returned in the autumn of 1780, being often heard to declare, "that it was all over with the rebels; that they were about to receive an irreparable blow, the news of which would ſoon arrive, &c. &c." Their ſilence from the moment in which they received an account of the failure of the plot, and the diſcovery of the traitor, evidently pointed out the object of their alluſions. TRANSLATOR.

the frigate, made him apprehend the falling in with the American troops. He imagined, that favoured by his diſguiſe, he ſhould be ſafer on the right bank: a few miles from thence he was ſtopped, and a few miles farther he found the gibbet.

Smith, who was more than ſuſpected, but not convicted of being a party in the plot, is ſtill in priſon, where the law protects him againſt juſtice. But his houſe ſeems to have experienced the only chaſtiſement of which it was ſuſceptible; it is puniſhed by ſolitude; and is in fact ſo deſerted, that there is not a ſingle perſon to take care of it, although it is the manſion of a large farm.* I purſued my route, but without being able to give ſo much attention as to recollect it; I only remember that it was as gloomy as my reflections; it brought me into a deep vale, covered with cypreſſes; a torrent rolled over the rocks, which I paſſed, and ſoon after night came on. I had ſtill ſome

* *Smith*'s is a very handſome houſe and beautifully ſituated, but was in the ſame deſolate ſtate when the Tranſlator was there in 1780. TRANSLATOR.

miles to an inn, where I got tolerably well accommodated. It is ſituated in *Haverſtraw*, and is kept by another *Smith*, but who in no way reſembles the former; he aſſured me he was a good whig, and as he gave me a good ſupper, I readily believed him.

The 23d I ſet out at eight o'clock, with the intention of arriving in good time at the Marquis de la Fayette's camp; for I had learnt that the army was not to move that day, and I was deſirous of being preſented by him to *General Waſhington*. The ſhorteſt road was by *Paramus*; but my guide inſiſted on my turning to the northward, aſſuring me that the other road was not ſafe, that it was infeſted by tories, and that he always avoided it, when he had letters to carry. * I took the road to the right therefore,

* The guide gave the Marquis very true information, for the Tranſlator who took the *Paramus* road, had ſeveral well founded alarms, in paſſing through that intricate country. At *Hopper's Mill*, near Paramus, where he ſlept amongſt myriads of rats in a milk houſe, the family aſſured him, that their quarters were conſtantly beat up, and horſes, men, &c.

therefore, and followed for ſome time the rivulet of *Romopog*; I then turned to the left, and ſoon got into the townſhip of *Pompton*, and into the *Totohaw* road; but being informed that it led me ſtraight to the main body of the army, without paſſing by the van commanded by M. de la Fayette, I enquired for ſome croſs road to his quarter, and one was pointed out to me, by which, paſſing near a ſort of lake which forms a very agreeable point of view, and then croſſing ſome very beautiful woods, I arrived at a ſtream which falls into *Second River*, exactly at the ſpot where M. de la Fayette was encamped. His poſts lined the rivulet; they were well diſpoſed, and in good order. At length I arrived at the camp; but the Marquis was not there; apprized of my

 coming

carried off. At this place there was no lock to the ſtable door, which they ſaid was here a ſuperfluous article, as theſe banditti were guilty of every act of violence. He received ſimilar information from his friend *Doctor Brown* of Bridport in Dorſetſhire, but who has been long ſettled in America, and was attached to the continental army, with whom he breakfaſted, at his beautiful little reſidence, next morning. TRANSLATOR.

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coming by the Vicomte de Noailles, he had gone to wait for me at ſeven miles diſtance, at head quarters, where he thought I ſhould direct my courſe. He had ſent, however, Major Gimat, and one of his Aides de Camp to meet me, but they had taken the two roads to Paramus; ſo that by his precautions, and thoſe of my guide, I was, as they ſay in Engliſh, compleatly diſappointed, for it was two o'clock, and I had already travelled thirty miles without ſtopping. I was in the utmoſt impatience to embrace M. de la Fayette, and to ſee General Waſhington, but I could not make my horſes partake of it. It was propoſed to me to proceed directly to head quarters, becauſe, ſaid they, I might *perhaps* arrive in time for dinner. But ſeeing the impoſſibility of that, and being in a country where I was known, I deſired ſome oats for my horſes. Whilſt they were making this ſlight repaſt, I went to ſee the camp of the *Marquis*, * it is thus they

* It is impoſſible to paint the eſteem and affection with which this French nobleman is regarded in America. It is to be ſurpaſſed only by the love of their illuſtrious chief. He has found the ſecret of

they call Mr. de la Fayette; the Engliſh language being fond of abridgments, and titles uncommon in America. I found this camp placed in an excellent poſition; it occupied two heights ſeparated by a ſmall bottom, but with an eaſy communication between them. The river Totohaw or *Second River*, protects its right, and it is here that it makes a conſiderable elbow, and turning towards the ſouth, falls at length into the bay of *Newark*. The principal part of the front, and all the left flank, to a great diſtance, are covered by the rivulet which comes

winning all their hearts; nor to thoſe who know him is it matter of any wonder. In the gentleſt, and moſt courteous manner, he unites a frankneſs, which is ſuppoſed to be not the general chacteriſtic of his countrymen; his deportment is dignified without pride; and his zeal, activity, and enthuſiaſm in the cauſe of America, diſtinct from all the political views of co-operation with the wiſhes of his court, added to a ſincere and uniform admiration of the greateſt and beſt character of the age, completely endeared this excellent young man to grateful America. *The Marquis* was never ſpoken of in the hearing of the Tranſlator, without manifeſt tokens of attachment and affection. TRANSLATOR.

from Paramus, and falls into the ſame river. This poſition is only twenty miles from New York iſland; and was accordingly occupied by the van guard, conſiſting of light infantry, that is to ſay, by the picked corps of the American army: the regiments, in fact, which compoſe it have no grenadiers, but only a company of light infantry, anſwering to our *Chaſſeurs*, and of whom battalions are formed at the beginning of the campaign. This troop made a good appearance, were better cloathed than the reſt of the army; the uniforms both of the officers and ſoldiers were ſmart and military, and each ſoldier wore a helmet made of hard leather, with a creſt of horſe hair. The officers are armed with eſpontoons, or rather with half pikes, and the ſubalterns with fuſils: but both were provided with ſhort and light ſabres, brought from France, and made a preſent of to them by M. de la Fayette. The tents agreeably to the American cuſtom, formed only two ranks; they were in regular lines, as well as thoſe of the officers; and as the ſeaſon was advanced, they had good chimneys, but placed differently

ently from ours; for they are all built on the outſide, and conceal the entrance of the tents, which produce the double effect of keeping off the wind, and of preſerving heat night and day. I ſaw no piles of arms, and was informed that the Americans made no uſe of them. When the weather is good, each company places its fuſils on a wooden horſe; but when it rains, they muſt be removed into the tents, which is undoubtedly a great inconvenience: this will be remedied when the means of doing it are more abundant, but I fear much, that this will not happen the next year.

As I was walking in the front of the camp, I was joind by an officer, who ſpoke very good French; which was not aſtoniſhing, as he turned out to be as much a Frenchman as myſelf; this was *Major Galvan*. This officer came to America on commercial affairs, on which ſubject he has even had a ſort of trial with the Congreſs; but he was patronized by many perſons, and particularly by the Chevalier de la Luzerne, our Ambaſſador: deſiring to enter into the ſervice, he obtained the rank

rank of Major, and the command of a battalion of light infantry. He is a man of abilities, and they are very well ſatisfied with him in the American army.* He led

* Major Galvan, with whom I was well acquainted in Philadelphia, was a French Weſt-Indian, who came, as the Marquis de Chaſtellux mentions, to America on commercial affairs. He was allowed to be an active good officer. During his reſidence at Philadelphia in 1782, he became enamoured of a beautiful and accompliſhed widow of the firſt diſtinction in the country. Having conceived the moſt flattering hopes of ſucceſs to his paſſion, he was ſo ſhocked at finding himſelf deceived, that he formed the moſt deſperate reſolution. After writing a pathetic, but reproachful letter to the object of his love, and another to her female friend, ſiſter to Mrs. Arnold, and arranging all his affairs, he ſpent the day chearfully in company with ſome brother officers at the inn where he lodged, but with ſome ſerious intervals. As ſoon as the tea was over, retiring to his room, he locked the door, placed himſelf oppoſite the looking glaſs, and with two piſtols, one in each hand, put an end to his exiſtence. On my arival at Bourdeaux, at the end of the war, I fell in company with a gentleman, who for ſeveral days was particularly inquiſitive about the Major's conduct, what the general opinion of him was, &c. Fortunately his conduct was irreproachable; had it been otherwiſe, this gentleman

led me to his tent, where I found a table neatly ſpread: he propoſed to me to dine, but I did not accept it, imagining I ſhould loſe nothing by waiting for that which General Waſhington would give me. After all we have heard in Europe of the diſtreſſed ſtate of the American army, it will appear extraordinary, perhaps, that ſuch a thing as a dinner was to be found at the tent of a Major. Doubtleſs it is impoſſible to live without money, when every thing one eats is to be paid for; a privilege the Americans poſſeſs no more than others. But it muſt be underſtood, that they receive rations of proviſions, rum, and flour; that they have in each regiment a Baker to bake their bread, and ſoldiers to ſerve them; ſo that an officer who takes the field with a tent, and a ſufficiency of cloathing, may do very well till winter without ſpending any thing. The misfortune is, that proviſions ſometimes fail, or do not arrive in time; in

was imprudently ſearching for pain to himſelf and me, as he, to my no ſmall ſurprize and mortification, declared himſelf to be *his brother*.

TRANSLATOR.

in which caſe they really ſuffer; but theſe are critical moments, which do not often occur, and may be prevented in future, if the ſtates perform their engagements, and the Quarter-Maſter-General, and Commiſſaries do their duty.* I left Mr. Galvan ſitting down to dinner, and went to prepare my horſes, that I might get to head quarters before the day was ſpent. Colonel Mac Henry, whom I have before mentioned, took upon himſelf to conduct me. We kept along the river, which was on our left. After riding two miles we came in ſight of the left of the army. It was

* On the univerſal ſtoppage of paper money, from its enormous depreciation, the worſt of ſpecie, notwithſtanding the abilities and activity of Mr. Morris, the financier, occaſioned great wants in the army, and a total indifference on the part of the contractors; inſomuch, that in the end of 1782, the army was in danger of diſbanding from abſolute neceſſity. It was on this critical occaſion that *Colonel Wadſworth*, whoſe merit has been ſo well appreciated by the author, ſtept in, took the contract on himſelf, and by his *name* and *influence* reſtored affairs, and kept the army together. America cannot be too grateful to this gentleman.

TRANSLATOR.

was encamped on two heights, and in one line, in an extended but very good poſition, having a wood in the rear, and in the front the river, which is very difficult of paſſage every where except at *Totohaw-Bridge*. But the ſituation would be quite in favour of an army defending the left bank, the heights on that ſide every where commanding thoſe of the right. Two miles beyond the bridge is a meeting-houſe of an hexagonal form, which is given to their places of worſhip by the Dutch Preſbyterians, who are very numerous in the Jerſeys.

I was purſuing my journey, converſing with Mr. Mac Henry, when I was apprized by a conſiderable noiſe, that I could not be far from the great cataract, called *Totohaw-Fall*. I was divided between my impatience to view this curioſity, and that of approaching General Waſhington; but Mr. Mac Henry informing me that it would not take me two hundred paces out of my way to ſee the cataract, I determined to avail myſelf of the remainder of a fine day, and I had not in fact gone a ſtone's throw before

before I had the aſtoniſhing ſpectacle before me of a large river, which precipitates itſelf from a height of ſeventy feet, and ſo ingulphed in the hollow of a rock, which ſeems to ſwallow it up, but from whence it eſcapes by turning ſhort to the right. It ſeems to me impoſſible to give an idea of this water-fall, but by a drawing. Let us however attempt the picture, leaving the finiſhing to the imagination: ſhe is the rival of Nature, and ſometimes alſo her rival and interpreter. Let the reader figure to himſelf, then, a river running between mountains covered with firs, the dark green of which is in contact with the colour of its waters, and renders its courſe more majeſtic; let him repreſent to himſelf an immenſe rock, which would totally cloſe up the paſſage, had it not by an earthquake, or ſome other ſubterraneous revolution, been rent in ſeveral pieces, from its ſummit to its baſe, by this means forming long crevices perfectly vertical. One of theſe crevices, the depth of which is unknown, may be twenty-five or thirty feet wide. It is in this cavern that the river

river having cleared a part of the rock, precipitates itſelf with violence; but as this rock croſſes its whole bed, it can only eſcape by that extremity of the two, which offers it an outlet. There a freſh obſtacle preſents itſelf: another rock oppoſes its flight, and it is obliged to form a right angle, and turn ſhort to the left. But it is extraordinary, that after this dreadful fall, it neither froths, nor boils up, nor forms whirlpools, but goes off quietly by its channel, and gains, in ſilence, a profound valley, where it purſues its courſe to the ſea. This perfect calm, after a movement ſo rapid, can only proceed from the enormous depth of the cavern, into which it is plunged. I did not examine the rock with aqua fortis; but as there ſeems to be no calcareous ſtones in this country, I take it to be hard rock, and of the nature of quartz: but it preſents a peculiarity worthy of attention, which is, that its whole ſurface is hollowed into little ſquares. Was it in a ſtate of fuſion when raiſed from the bowels of the earth, and it blocked up the paſſage of the river? Theſe vertical crevices,

vices, theſe flaws on the ſurface, are they the effects of its cooling? Theſe are queſtions I leave to the diſcuſſion of the learned: I ſhall only obſerve, that there is no volcanic appearence; nor through this whole country are there the ſmalleſt traces of a volcano, of ſuch at leaſt as are poſterior to the laſt epochas of Nature.

Though Doctor Mac Henry began by being a *Doctor*, before he was an officer, and is well informed, I did not find him much verſed in natural hiſtory, and I preferred queſtioning him on the ſubject of the army along the front of which I rode, meeting perpetually with poſts, who took arms, the drum beating, and the officers ſaluting with the eſpontoon. All theſe poſts were not for the ſafety of the army; many of them were ſtationed to guard houſes and barns, which ſerved as magazines. At length, after riding two miles along the right flank of the army, and after paſſing thick woods on the right, I found myſelf in a ſmall plain, where I ſaw a handſome farm; a ſmall camp which ſeemed to cover it, a large tent extended in the

the court, and ſeveral waggons round it, convinced me that this was his *Excellency*'s quarter; for it is thus Mr. Waſhington is called in the army, and throughout America. M. de la Fayette was in converſation with a tall man, five foot nine inches high, (about five foot ten inches and a half Engliſh) of a noble and mild countenance. It was the General himſelf. I was ſoon off horſeback, and near him. The compliments were ſhort; the ſentiments with which I was animated, and the good wiſhes he teſtified for me were not equivocal. He conducted me to his houſe, where I found the company ſtill at table, although the dinner had been long over. He preſented me to the Generals Knox, Waine, Howe, &c. and to his *family*, then compoſed of Colonels Hamilton and Tilgman, his Secretaries and his Aides de Camp, and of Major Gibbs, commander of his guards; for in England and America, the Aides de Camp, Adjutants and other officers attached to the General, form what is called his *family*. A freſh dinner was prepared for me, and mine; and the preſent was pro-

longed to keep me company. A few glaſſes of claret and madeira accelerated the acquaintances I had to make, and I ſoon felt myſelf at my eaſe near the greateſt and the beſt of men. The goodneſs and benevolence which characterize him, are evident from every thing about him; but the confidence he gives birth to, never occaſions improper familiarity; for the ſentiment he inſpires has the ſame origin in every individual, a profound eſteem for his virtues, and a high opinion of his talents.* About nine

* Rochefaucault has ſaid, "That no man is a hero to his Valet de Chambre." Without combating the general juſtice of the remark, this excellent man is moſt certainly an exception. Thoſe who are the neareſt to his perſon love him the moſt, but this is never ſeparated from a marked degree of reſpect and admiration. This is not only the univerſal teſtimony, but I had myſelf the high gratification of obſerving it. Before the war, there was not a gentleman within the circle of his neighbourhood, who, having important concerns, or a family to leave behind him, did not cloſe his eyes in peace, could he be ſo fortunate as to get Mr. Waſhington for an executor: an unequivocal proof of his integrity. I have likewiſe the ſtrongeſt teſtimony to refute thoſe injurious inſinuations which have been

nine o'clock the general officers withdrew to their quarters, which were all at a conſiderable diſtance; but as the General

propagated by envy, ignorance, or party malevolence, with the view of depreciating his talents. I had particular buſineſs to tranſact with him in 1782, reſpecting the eſtates of an old friend to whom he was executor, but which from peculiar circumſtances had been totally neglected by the noble heirs in England, from the year 1771, indeed I may ſay, from the year 1767. I found his Excellency in winter quarters at Philadelphia; on entering into converſation on the ſubject, which was of *a moſt complicated nature*, the General modeſtly apprized me, that from the active and turbulent ſituation in which he had long been placed, never having been at his own houſe in Virginia ſince the year 1775, but one night on his return from York Town, he was ignorant of his own affairs, and was conſequently afraid he could afford me but little information reſpecting thoſe in queſtion: but what was my aſtoniſhment, when, after this prelude, he entered into an accurate detail of every thing reſpecting them, ſcarcely omitting, as I afterwards found upon the ſpot, the moſt minute particular! On my arrival in Virginia, I had an opportunity of peruſing, amongſt the papers, many of his letters written whilſt in the active management of the affairs, which furniſhed me with unqueſtionable proofs of the clearneſs of his head, the honour and diſ-

wiſhed me to ſtay in his own houſe, I remained ſome time with him, after which he conducted me to the chamber prepared for my Aides de Camp and me. This chamber occupied the fourth part of his lodgings;

intereſtedneſs of his heart, and the uncommon perſpicuity and elegance of his ſtyle; ſo as to convince me of the identity of the pen that produced thoſe admirable epiſtolary performances, which did him ſo much honour during the war, and will ever mark the energy of his mind, and the excellence of his underſtanding. I have dwelt with the more ſatisfaction on this particular, as Envy, unable to detract from their merit, has made frequent attempts to rob his fame of the honour of having ever produced them; and what relates to the public opinion concerning himſelf he always leaves to the determination of others. This heartfelt, but faithful tribute to tranſcendent virtue and abilities, is the effuſion of a mind unaccuſtomed to flattery, and in an inſtance where flattery neither has, *nor can have any object*. I had long revered his character before I ſaw him, and we all know that too much prepoſſeſſion is generally unfavourable on a nearer view; but to know *him*, eſtabliſhes and heightens the moſt favourable ideas; and I ſaw, and knew this truly great man, only to root in my mind the moſt ſincere attachment, affection and veneration for his perſon and character.

TRANSLATOR.

lodgings; he apologized to me for the little room he had in his diſpoſal, but always with a noble politeneſs, which was neither complimentary nor troubleſome.

At nine the next morning they informed me that his Excellency was come down into the parlour. This room ſerved at once as audience chamber, and dining-room. I immediately went to wait on him, and found breakfaſt prepared. *Lord Stirling* had come to breakfaſt with us. He is one of the oldeſt Major-Generals in the army; his birth, his titles and pretty extenſive property have given him more importance in America, than his talents could ever have acquired him. The title of *Lord*, which was refuſed him in England, is not here conteſted with him: he claimed this title from inheritance, and went to Europe to ſupport his pretenſions, but without ſucceſs. A part of his eſtate has been diſſipated by the war, and by his taſte for expence; he is accuſed of liking the table and the bottle, full as much as becomes a Lord, but more than becomes a General. He is brave, but without capa-

city, and has not been fortunate in the different commands with which he has been entruſted. He was made priſoner at the affair of Long Iſland. In June, 1777, he got into a ſcrape at Elizabeth Town, whilſt General Waſhington made head againſt 20,000 Engliſh on the heights of Middlebrook; he there loſt two or three hundred men, and three pieces of cannon: at Brandywine he commanded the right of the army, or rather the body of troops defeated by *Cornwallis*; but on all theſe occaſions he diſplayed great perſonal courage and firmneſs. I converſed a long time with him, and found him to be a ſenſible man, not ill informed of the affairs of his country. He is old and rather dull; but with all this, he will continue to ſerve, becauſe the employment, though not lucrative, helps to repair a little the diſorder in his affairs; and not having quitted the ſervice ſince the beginning of the war, he has, at leaſt, zeal and ſeniority in his favour; thus he will retain the command of the firſt line, to which his rank entitles him; but care will

will be taken not to employ him on particular expeditions.*

Whilſt we were at breakfaſt, horſes were brought, and General Waſhington gave orders for the army to get under arms at the head of the camp. The weather was very bad, and it had already began raining; we waited half an hour; but the General ſeeing that it was more likely to increaſe than to diminiſh, determined to get on horſeback. Two horſes were brought him, which were a preſent from the State of Virginia; he mounted one himſelf, and gave me the other. Mr. Lynch and Mr. de Monteſquieu, had each of them, alſo, a very handſome blood horſe, ſuch as we could not find at Newport for any money. We repaired to the artillery camp, where *General Knox* received us: the artillery was numerous, and the gunners, in very fine order, were formed in parade, in the foreign manner, that is, each gunner at his battery, and ready to fire. The General was ſo good as to apologize to me for the can-

* Lord Stirling died before the end of the war.

non not firing to ſalute me; he ſaid, that having put all the troops on the other ſide of the river in motion, and apprized them that he might himſelf march along the right bank, he was afraid of giving the alarm, and of deceiving the detachments that were out. We gained, at length, the right of the army, where we ſaw the Penſylvania line; it was compoſed of two brigades, each forming three battalions, without reckoning the light infantry, which were detached with the Marquis de la Fayette. General Waine, who commanded it, was on horſeback, as well as the Brigadiers and Colonels. They were all well mounted: the officers alſo had a very military air; they were well ranged, and ſaluted very gracefully. Each brigade had a band of muſic; the march they were then playing was the *Huron*. I knew that this line, though in want of many things, was the beſt cloathed in the army; ſo that his Excellency aſking me whether I would proceed, and ſee the whole army, or go by the ſhorteſt road to the camp of the *Marquis*, I accepted the latter propoſal. The troops

troops ought to thank me for it, for the rain was falling with redoubled force; they were diſmiſſed, therefore, and we arrived heartily wet at the Marquis de la Fayette's quarters, where I warmed myſelf with great pleaſure, partaking, from time to time, of a large bowl of grog, which is ſtationary on his table, and is preſented to every officer who enters. The rain appearing to ceaſe, or inclined to ceaſe for a moment, we availed ourſelves of the opportunity to follow his Excellency to the camp of the Marquis: we found all his troops in order of battle on the heights to the left, and himſelf at their head; expreſſing, by his air and countenance, that he was happier in receiving me there, than at his eſtate in Auvergne. The confidence and attachment of the troops, are for him invaluable poſſeſſions, well acquired riches, of which no body can deprive him; but what, in my opinion, is ſtill more flattering for a young man of his age, is the influence, the conſideration he has acquired amongſt the political, as well as the military order: I do not fear contradiction when I ſay, that private letters

lers from him have frequently produced more effect on ſome ſtates than the ſtrongeſt exhortations of the Congreſs. On ſeeing him, one is at a loſs which moſt to admire, that ſo young a man as he ſhould have given ſuch eminent proofs of talents, or that a man ſo tried, ſhould give hopes of ſo long a career of glory. Fortunate his country, if ſhe knows how to avail herſelf of them; more fortunate ſtill ſhould ſhe ſtand in no need of calling them into exertion!

I diſtinguiſhed, with pleaſure, among the colonels, who were extremely well mounted, and who ſaluted with great grace, *M. de Gimat*, a French officer, over whom I claim the rights of a ſort of military paternity, having brought him up in my regiment from his earlieſt youth.* This whole van-guard

* M. de Gimat made the following campaign at the head of a battalion of light infantry, always under the command of M. de la Fayette. At the ſiege of York, he attacked and carried jointly with Colonel Hamilton, the enemy's redoubt on their left. This attack was made at the ſame time with that of the Baron de Viomenil, on the right redoubt, and with the ſame ſucceſs. Mr. Gimat was wounded in the foot: on his return to Europe, he was made Colonel of the regiment of Martinico.

guard conſiſted of ſix battalions, forming two brigades; but there was only one piquet of dragoons or light cavalry, the remainder having marched to the ſouthward with *Colonel Lee*. Theſe dragoons are perfectly well mounted, and do not fear meeting the Engliſh dragoons, over whom they have gained ſeveral advantages;* but they have never been numerous enough to form a ſolid and permanent body. The piquet that was kept with the army, ſerved then as an eſcort to the Provoſt Marſhal, and performed the functions of the *Marechauſſée*, until the eſtabliſhment of a regular one, which was intended.

The rain ſpared us no more at the camp of the Marquis, than at that of the main army; ſo that our review being finiſhed, I ſaw with pleaſure General Waſhington ſet off in a gallop to regain his quarters. We reached

* The *heroic* Tarleton has experienced that there is ſome difference between theſe dragoons and a ſurpriſed party of ill-armed infantry and peaſants. This gentleman's forte was in the latter ſpecies of war; a forced march, a ſurprize, and a bloody gazette, are the records of his glory. TRANSLATOR.

reached them as ſoon as the badneſs of the roads would permit us. At our return we found a good dinner ready, and about twenty gueſts, among whom were Generals Howe and Sinclair. The repaſt was in the Engliſh faſhion, conſiſting of eight or ten large diſhes of butcher's meat, and poultry, with vegetables of ſeveral ſorts, followed by a ſecond courſe of paſtry, comprized under the two denominations of pies and puddings. After this the cloth was taken off, and apples and a great quantity of nuts were ſerved, which General Waſhington uſually continues eating for two hours, *toaſting* and converſing all the time. Theſe nuts are ſmall and dry, and have ſo hard a ſhell, (hickory nuts) that they can only be broken by the hammer; they are ſerved half open, and the company are never done picking and eating them. The converſation was calm and agreeable; his Excellency was pleaſed to enter with me into the particulars of ſome of the principal operations of the war, but always with a modeſty and conciſeneſs, which proved that it was from pure complaiſance he mentioned

ed it. About half paſt ſeven we roſe from table, and immediately the ſervants came to ſhorten it, and convert it into a round one; for at dinner it was placed diagonally to give more room. I was ſurpriſed at this manœuvre, and aſked the reaſon of it; I was told they were going to lay the cloth for ſupper. In half an hour I retired to my chamber, fearing leſt the General might have buſineſs, and that he remained in company only on my account; but at the end of another half hour, I was informed that his Excellency expected me at ſupper. I returned to the dining-room, proteſting againſt this ſupper; but the General told me he was accuſtomed to take ſomething in the evening; that if I would be ſeated, I ſhould only eat ſome fruit, and aſſiſt in the converſation. I deſired nothing better, for there were then no ſtrangers, and nobody remained but the General's family. The ſupper was compoſed of three or four light diſhes, ſome fruit, and above all, a great abundance of nuts, which were as well received in the evening as at dinner. The cloth being ſoon removed, a few bottles of good

good claret and madeira were placed on the table.* Every ſenſible man will be of my opinion, that being a French officer, under

* On my return from the ſouthward in 1782, I ſpent a day or two at the American camp at Verplanks Point on the North River, and had the honour of dining with General Waſhington. I had ſuffered ſeverely from an ague, which I could not get quit of, though I had taken the exerciſe of a hard trotting horſe, and got thus far to the northward in the month of October. The General obſerving it, told me he was ſure I had not met with a good glaſs of wine for ſome time, an article then very rare, but that my diſorder muſt be frightened away; he made me drink three or four of his ſilver camp cups of excellent madeira at noon, and recommended to me to take a generous glaſs of claret after dinner, a preſcription by no means repugnant to my feelings, and which I moſt religiouſly followed. I mounted my horſe next morning, and continued my journey to Maſſachuſſets, without ever experiencing the ſlighteſt return of my diſorder. The American camp here, preſented the moſt beautiful and pictureſque appearance: it extended along the plain, on the neck of land formed by the winding of the Hudſon, and had a view of this river to the ſouth; behind it, the lofty mountains, covered with wood, formed the moſt ſublime back-ground that painting can expreſs. In the front of the tents was a regular continued portico, formed by the boughs of trees in verdure, decorated with much taſte and fancy; and

under the orders of General Waſhington, and what is more, a good whig, I could not refuſe a glaſs of wine offered me by him; but, I confeſs, that I had little merit in this complaiſance, and that, leſs accuſtomed to drink than any body, I accommodate myſelf very well to the Engliſh mode of *toaſting*: you have very ſmall glaſſes, you pour out yourſelf the quantity of wine you chuſe, without being preſſed to take more, and the toaſt is only a ſort of check in the converſation, to remind each individual that he forms part of the company, and that the whole form only one ſociety. I obſerved that there was more ſolemnity in the toaſts at dinner: there were ſeveral cere-

each officer's tent was diſtinguiſhed by ſuperior ornaments. Oppoſite the camp, and on diſtinct eminences, ſtood the tents of ſome of the general officers, over which towered, predominant, that of General Waſhington. I had ſeen all the camps in England, from many of which, drawings and engravings have been taken; but this was truly a ſubject worthy the pencil of the firſt artiſt. The French camp, during their ſtay at Baltimore, was decorated in the ſame ſtyle. At the camp at Verplanks, we diſtinctly heard the morning and evening gun of the Britiſh at Kingſbridge. TRANSLATOR.

ceremonious ones; the others were ſuggeſted by the General, and given out by his Aides de Camp, who performed the honours of the table at dinner; for one of them is every day ſeated at the bottom of the table, near the General, to ſerve the company, and diſtribute the bottles. The toaſts in the evening were given by Colonel Hamilton, without order or ceremony. After ſupper the gueſts are generally deſired to give a *ſentiment*; that is to ſay, a lady to whom they are attached by ſome ſentiment, either of love, or friendſhip, or perhaps from preference only.* This ſupper, or converſation, commonly laſted from nine to eleven, always free, and always agreeable.

The weather was ſo bad on the 25th, that it was impoſſible for me to ſtir, even to wait on the Generals, to whom M. de la Fayette was to conduct me. I eaſily conſoled myſelf for this, finding it a great luxury to paſs a whole day with General Waſh-

* The Engliſh reader will ſee that the Author makes a ſmall miſtake here; it being the cuſtom in America, as in England, to give a lady, *or* a ſentiment, or both. TRANSLATOR.

Waſhington, as if he were at his houſe in the country, and had nothing to do. The Generals *Glover*, *Huntingdon*, and ſome others, dined with us, and the Colonels *Stewart* and *Butler*, two officers diſtinguiſhed in the army. The intelligence received this day occaſioned the propoſed attack on Staten Iſland to be laid aſide. The foraging party under General Starke had met with the moſt complete ſucceſs; the enemy not having thought proper to diſturb them, ſo that they had not ſtripped the poſts in the quarter where it was intended to attack them: beſides, that this expedition could only have been a *coup de main*, rendered very difficult by the badneſs of the roads from the exceſſive rains. It was determined therefore that the army ſhould march the next day to winter quarters, and that I ſhould continue my route to Philadelphia.

The weather being fair, on the 26th, I got on horſeback, after breakfaſting with the General. He was ſo attentive as to give me the horſe he rode on, the day of my arrival, which I had greatly commended: I found

him as good as he is handſome; but above all, perfectly well broke, and well trained, having a good mouth, eaſy in hand, and ſtopping ſhort in a gallop without bearing the bit. I mention theſe minute particulars, becauſe it is the General himſelf who breaks all his own horſes; and he is a very excellent and bold horſeman, leaping the higheſt fences, and going extremely quick, without ſtanding upon his ſtirrups, bearing on the bridle, or letting his horſe run wild; circumſtances which our young men look upon as ſo eſſential a part of Engliſh horſemanſhip, that they would rather break a leg or an arm than renounce them.

My firſt viſit was to General Waine, where Mr. de la Fayette was waiting to conduct me to the other general officers of the line. We were received by General Huntingdon, who appeared rather young for the rank of Brigadier-General, which he has held two years: his carriage is cold and reſerved, but one is not long in perceiving him to be a man of ſenſe and information; by General Glover, about five and forty, a little man, but active and a good ſoldier;

by

by General Howe, who is one of the oldeſt Majors General, and who enjoys the conſideration due to his rank, though, from unfavourable circumſtances, he has not been fortunate in war, particularly in Georgia, where he commanded with a very ſmall force, at the time General Prevoſt took poſſeſſion of it: he is fond of muſic, the arts, and pleaſure, and has a cultivated mind. I remained a conſiderable time with him, and ſaw a very curious *luſus naturæ*, but as hideous as poſſible. It was a young man of a Dutch family, whoſe head was become ſo enormous, that it took the whole nouriſhment from his body; and his hands and arms were ſo weak that he was unable to make uſe of them. He lies conſtantly in bed, with his monſtrous head ſupported by a pillow; and as he has long been accuſtomed to lie on his right ſide, his right arm is in a ſtate of atrophy: he is not quite an ideot, but he could never learn any thing, and has no more reaſon than a child of five or ſix years old, though he is ſeven and twenty. This extraordinary derangement of the animal œconomy proceeds from a

dropſy, with which he was attacked in his infancy, and which diſplaced the bones that form the cranium. We know that theſe bones are joined together by ſutures, which are ſoft in the firſt period of life, and harden and oſſify with age. Such an exuberance, ſo great an afflux of humour in that, which of all the viſcera ſeems to require the moſt exact proportion, as well in what relates to the life as to the underſtanding of man, afford ſtronger proof of the neceſſity of an equilibrium between the ſolids and fluids, than the exiſtence of the final cauſes.

General Knox, whom we had met, and who accompanied us, brought us back to head quarters, through a wood, as the ſhorteſt way, and to fall into a road leading to his houſe, where we wiſhed to pay our compliments to Mrs. Knox. We found her ſettled in a little farm, where ſhe had paſſed part of the campaign; for ſhe never quits her huſband. A child of ſix months, and a little girl of three years old, formed a real *family* for the General. As for himſelf, he is between thirty and forty, very fat,

fat, but very active, and of a gay and amiable character. Previous to the war he was a bookſeller at Boſton, and uſed to amuſe himſelf in reading ſome military books in his ſhop. Such was the origin and the firſt knowledge he acquired of the art of war, and of the taſte he has had ever ſince for the profeſſion of arms. From the very firſt campaign, he was entruſted with the command of the artillery, and it has turned out that it could not have been placed in better hands. It was he whom M. du Coudray endeavoured to ſupplant, and who had no difficulty in removing him. It was fortunate for Mr. du Coudray, perhaps, that he was drowned in the *Schuylkill*, rather than to be ſwallowed up in the intrigues he was engaged in, and which might have been productive of much miſchief.*

* General Knox who retained until the peace the ſame ſituation in the American army, commanded their artillery at the ſiege of York. One cannot too much admire the intelligence and activity with which he collected from all quarters, tranſported, diſembarked and conveyed to the batteries the train deſtined for the ſiege, and which conſiſted of more than thirty pieces of cannon and mortars of a large bore:

On our return to head quarters, we found ſeveral General Officers and Colonels, with whom we dined. I had an opportunity of converſing

this artillery was always extremely well ſerved, General Knox never caring to direct it, and frequently taking the trouble himſelf of pointing the mortars. He ſcarcely ever quitted the batteries; and, when the town ſurrendered, he ſtood in need of the ſame activity and the ſame reſources to remove and tranſport the enemy's artillery, which conſiſted of upwards of two hundred *bouches a feu*, with all the ammunition belonging to them. The rank of Major General was the recompence of his ſervices.

It may be obſerved, that if on this occaſion the Engliſh were aſtoniſhed at the juſtneſs of the firing, and terrible execution of the French artillery, we were not leſs ſo at the extraordinary progreſs of the American artillery, as well as the capacity and knowledge of a great number of the officers employed in it.

As for General Knox, to praiſe his military talents only, would be to deprive him of half of the eulogium which he merits: A man of underſtanding, a well formed man, gay, ſincere, and honeſt; it is impoſſible to know without eſteeming him, or to ſee without loving him. In the text, it is ſaid that he was a bookſeller at *Boſton* before the war; this is not perfectly the truth. He carried on trade in various articles, and according to the American cuſtom, he ſold them wholeſale and retail. Books, but particularly French books, made part of this commerce,

converſing more particularly with *General Waine*; he has ſerved more than any officer of the American army, and his ſervices have been more diſtinguiſhed, * though he is yet but young. He is ſenſible, and his converſation is agreeable and animated.—The affair of Stoney Point has gained him much honour in the army; however, he is only a Brigadier General! This ariſes from the nomination to the ſuperior ranks being veſted in the ſtates to whom the troops belong, and that the ſtate of Penſylvania has not thought proper to make any promotion,

but he employed himſelf more in reading than ſelling them. Before the revolution he was one of the principal citizens of Boſton; at preſent, he belongs to the whole world by his reputation and his ſucceſs. Thus have the Engliſh, contrary to their intention, added to the ornament of the human ſpecies, by awakening talents and virtues where they thought to find nothing but ignorance and weakneſs.

* This might in ſome reſpect be true at the time the Marquis ſpeaks of, but let the ſouthern campaigns be attended to, and juſtice will be done to the active zeal, the wonderful exertions, the unabating courage of that great officer *General Green*; other exceptions might be made, but this ſtands conſpicuous. TRANSLATOR.

apparently from principles of œconomy. The remainder of the day I dedicated to the enjoyment of General Waſhington's company, whom I was to quit the next day. He was ſo good as to point out to me himſelf my journey, to ſend on before to prepare me lodgings, and to give me a Colonel to conduct me as far as Trenton. The next morning all the General's baggage was packed up, which did not hinder us from breakfaſting, before we parted, he for his winter quarters, and I for my journey to Philadelphia.

Here would be the proper place to give the portrait of General Waſhington: but what can my teſtimony add to the idea already formed of him? The continent of North America, from Boſton to Charles Town, is a great volume, every page of which preſents his eulogium. I know, that having had the opportunity of a near inſpection, and of cloſely obſerving him, ſome more particular details may be expected from me; but the ſtrongeſt characteriſtic of this reſpectable man is the perfect union which reigns between the phyſical and moral

ral qualities which compoſe the individual, one alone will enable you to judge of all the reſt. If you are preſented with medals of Cæſar, of Trajan, or Alexander, on examining their features, you will ſtill be led to aſk what was their ſtature, and the form of their perſons; but if you diſcover, in a heap of ruins, the head or the limb of an antique *Apollo*, be not curious about the other parts, but reſt aſſured that they all were conformable to thoſe of a God. Let not this compariſon be attributed to enthuſiaſm! It is not my intention to exaggerate, I wiſh only to expreſs the impreſſion General Waſhington has left on my mind; the idea of a perfect whole, that cannot be the produce of enthuſiaſm, which rather would reject it, ſince the effect of proportion is to diminiſh the idea of greatneſs. Brave without temerity, laborious without ambition, generous without prodigality, noble without pride, virtuous without ſeverity; he ſeems always to have confined himſelf within thoſe limits, where the virtues, by cloathing themſelves in more lively, but more changeable and doubtful colours, may be miſtaken

miſtaken for faults. *This is the ſeventh year that he has commanded the army, and that he has obeyed the Congreſs; more need not be ſaid, eſpecially in America, where they know how to appreciate all the merit contained in this ſimple fact.* Let it be repeated that Conde was intrepid, Turenne prudent, Eugene adroit, Catinat diſintereſted. It is not thus that Waſhington will be characteriſed. It will be ſaid of him, AT THE END OF A LONG CIVIL WAR, HE HAD NOTHING WITH WHICH HE COULD REPROACH HIMSELF. If any thing can be more marvellous than ſuch a character, it is the unanimity of the public ſuffrages in his favour. Soldier, magiſtrate, people, all love and admire him; all ſpeak of him in terms of tenderneſs and veneration. Does there then exiſt a virtue capable of reſtraining the injuſtice of mankind; or are glory and happineſs too recently eſtabliſhed in America, for Envy to have deigned to paſs the ſeas?

In ſpeaking of this perfect whole of which General Waſhington furniſhes the idea, I have not excluded exterior form. His ſtature is noble and lofty, he is well made,

made, and exactly proportioned; his phyſiognomy mild and agreeable, but ſuch as to render it impoſſible to ſpeak particularly of any of his features, ſo that in quitting him, you have only the recollection of a fine face. He has neither a grave nor a familiar air, his brow is ſometimes marked with thought, but never with inquietude; in inſpiring reſpect, he inſpires confidence, and his ſmile is always the ſmile of benevolence. *

But above all, it is in the midſt of his General Officers, that it is intereſting to behold him. General in a republic, he has not

* It is impoſſible for any man who has had the happineſs to approach the General, not to admire the accuracy of this deſcription, and the juſtneſs and happineſs with which it is developed, or to read it without the ſtrongeſt emotion. It is here above all, the Tranſlator muſt apologize for his author; it is not poſſible to do juſtice to the original, to feel all its elegance it muſt be read in the language in which it was written. Poſterity, future hiſtorians, will be grateful to the Marquis de Chaſtellux for this exquiſite portrait; every feature, and every tint of which will ſtand the teſt of the ſevereſt ſcrutiny, and be handed down to diſtant ages in never fading colours.

TRANSLATOR.

not the impoſing ſtatelineſs of a Marechal de France who gives *the order*; a hero in a republic, he excites another ſort of reſpect, which ſeems to ſpring from the ſole idea, that the ſafety of each individual is attached to his perſon. As for the reſt, I muſt obſerve on this occaſion, that the General Officers of the American army have a very military and a very becoming carriage; that even all the officers, whoſe characters were brought into public view, unite much politeneſs to a great deal of capacity; that the head quarters of this army, in ſhort, neither preſent the image of want, nor inexperience. When one ſees the battalion of the General's guards encamped within the precincts of his houſe; nine waggons, deſtined to carry his baggage, ranged in his court; a great number of grooms taking care of very fine horſes belonging to the General Officers and their Aides de Camp; when one obſerves the perfect order that reigns within theſe precincts, where the guards are exactly ſtationed, and where the drums beat an alarm, and a particular retreat, one is tempted to apply to the Americans what Pyrrhus

ſaid

ſaid of the Romans: *Truly theſe people have nothing barbarous in their diſcipline!*

The reader will perceive that it is difficult for me to quit General Waſhington: let us take our reſolution briſkly then, and ſuppoſe ourſelves on the road. Behold me travelling with *Colonel Moyland*, whom his Excellency had given me, in ſpight of myſelf, as a companion, and whom I ſhould have been glad to have ſeen at a diſtance, for one cannot be too much at one's eaſe in travelling. In ſuch ſituations, however, we muſt do the beſt we can. I began to queſtion him, he to anſwer me, and the converſation gradually becoming more intereſting, I found I had to do with a very gallant and intelligent man, who had lived long in Europe, and who has travelled through the greateſt part of America. I found him perfectly polite; for his politeneſs was not troubleſome, and I ſoon conceived a great friendſhip for him. Mr. Moyland is an Iriſh Catholic; one of his brothers is Catholic Biſhop of *Cork*, he has four others, two of whom are merchants, one at Cadiz, the other at L'Orient; the third is in Ireland with

with his family; and the fourth is intended for the prieſthood. * As for himſelf, he came to ſettle in America ſome years ago, where

* I was acquainted with four brothers of this family; they were all amiable, ſenſible and lively men, and remarkably active and uſeful in the revolution. The Colonel, in the military line; another brother, whom I *ſuppoſe* to have been the merchant at Cadiz, was afterwards in America, and clothier general to the army; another is a lawyer at Philadelphia, and Mr. Moyland, who is lately dead at L'Orient, was ſingularly uſeful in the year 1777, by managing a treaty between the American Commiſſioners and the Farmers General of France, for an annual ſupply of tobacco from America, which he concluded, *during Lord Stormont's reſidence at the Court of France*, and many months previous to the open rupture with that Court. I ſpeak of this with perſonal knowledge of the fact, nor was it ſo ſecret as to have eſcaped the Engliſh Ambaſſador, or the *vigilant Mr. Forth*. There could not be a more direct attack on England, and Engliſh claims, than this tranſaction, which *muſt* have had the ſanction of the French Government, yet England was lulled to ſleep by her Miniſters, or rather was ſo infatuated as to ſhut her ears againſt the moſt intereſting truths. I could ſay much more on this ſubject, but why enter into diſcuſſions which have long ceaſed to be either ſeaſonable or uſeful? England was, literally, in the caſe of the *Quos Deus vult perdere*. TRANSLATOR.

where he was at firſt engaged in commerce; he then ſerved in the army as Aide de Camp to the General, and has merited the command of the light cavalry. During the war he married the daughter of a rich merchant in the Jerſeys, who lived formerly at New York, and who now reſides on an eſtate at a little diſtance from the road we were to paſs the next day. He propoſed to me to go and ſleep there, or at leaſt to take a dinner; I begged to be excuſed, from the fear of being obliged to pay compliments, of ſtraightening others, or of being myſelf ſtraightened; he did not inſiſt, ſo that I purſued my journey, ſometimes through fine woods, at others through well cultivated lands, and villages inhabited by Dutch families. One of theſe villages, which forms a little townſhip, bears the beautiful name of *Troy*. Here the country is more open and continues ſo to *Morris-Town*. This town, celebrated by the winter quarters of 1779, is about three and twenty miles from *Prakeneſs*, the name of the head quarters from whence I came: It is ſituated on a height, at the foot of which runs the rivulet

rivulet called *Vipenny River*; the houſes are handſome and well built, there are about 60 or 80 round the Meeting-houſe. I intended ſtopping at Morris-Town only to bate my horſes, for it was but half paſt two, but on entering the inn of Mr. *Arnold*, I ſaw a dining-room adorned with looking glaſſes and handſome mahogany furniture, and a table ſpread for twelve perſons. I learnt that all this preparation was for me; and what affected me more nearly, was to ſee a dinner, correſponding with theſe appearances, ready to ſerve up. I was indebted for this to the goodneſs of General Waſhington, and the precautions of Colonel Moyland, who had ſent before to acquaint them with my arrival. It would have been very ungracious to have accepted this dinner at the expence of Mr. Arnold, who is an honeſt man, and a good whig, and who has not a particle in common with *Benedict Arnold*; it would have been ſtill more aukward to have paid for the banquet without eating it. I therefore inſtantly determined to dine and ſleep in this comfortable inn. The Vicomte de Noailles, the Comte de Damas, &c. were

expected

expected to make up the dozen; but these young travellers, who had reckoned during their stay with the army, on being witnesses to some encounters, were desirous of indemnifying themselves by riding along the bank of the river, to take a look at York Island, and try if they could not tempt the enemy to favour them with a few shot. M. de la Fayette himself conducted them, with an escort of twenty dragoons. They deferred for a day therefore their journey to Philadelphia, and I had no other guests but a Secretary and Aide de Camp of M. de la Fayette, who arrived as I was at table, well disposed to supply the deficiency of the absent.

After dinner I had a visit from General *St. Clair*, whom I had already seen at the army, which he had left the preceding evening to sleep at Morris-Town. It was he who commanded on Lake *Champlain*, at the evacuation of *Ticonderoga*: a terrible clamour was raised against him on that occasion, and he was tried by a council of war, but *honourably acquitted*,* not only because

* The terms of his acquittal are—*with the highest honour*. TRANSLATOR.

his retreat was attended with the beſt conſequences; Burgoyne having been forced to capitulate; but becauſe it was proved that he had been left in want of every thing neceſſary for the defence of the poſt entruſted to him. He was born in Scotland, where he has ſtill a family and property; he is eſteemed a good officer, and, if the war continues, will certainly act a principal part in the army.*

I ſet out from Morris-Town the 28th, at eight in the morning, with very lowering weather, which did not hinder me, however, from obſerving, to the right of the road, the huts occupied by the troops in the winter of 1779,—80. Some miles from thence, we met a man on horſeback, who came to meet Colonel Moyland with a letter from his wife. After reading it, he ſaid to me, with a truly European politeneſs, that we muſt always obey the women;

* General Sinclair's defence on this trial, which was lent me by Mr. Arthur Middleton, one of the Delegates in Congreſs for South Carolina, is an admirable piece of reaſoning and eloquence.

TRANSLATOR

men; that his wife would accept of no excuſe, and expected me to dinner; but he aſſured me that he would take me by a road which ſhould not be a mile out of my way, whilſt my people purſued their journey, and went to wait for me at *Somerſet Court-houſe*. I was now too well acquainted with my Colonel, and too much pleaſed with him, to refuſe this invitation; I followed him, therefore, and after croſſing a wood, found myſelf on a height, the poſition of which ſtruck me at firſt ſight. I remarked to Colonel Moyland, that I was much miſtaken if this ground was not well calculated for an advantageous camp: he replied, that it was preciſely that of *Middlebrook*, where General Waſhington had ſtopped the Engliſh in June, 1777; when Sir William Howe was endeavouring to traverſe the Jerſeys to paſs the Delaware, and take *Philadelphia*. Continuing my journey, and looking about me as far as my view would reach, the ſhape alone of the ground made me imagine, that the right could not be very good; I then learnt with pleaſure that General Waſhington had built

two ſtrong redoubts there. The reader will permit me the following ſhort reflexion, that the beſt method for military men, in following on the ground, the campaigns of great Generals, is not to have the different poſitions pointed out and explained to them: it is much better, before they are made acquainted with theſe details, to viſit the places, to look well about on every ſide, and to propoſe to themſelves ſome problems on the nature of the ground, and on the advantages to be derived from it; then to compare ideas with facts, by which means they will be enabled to rectify one, and to appreciate the other.

On deſcending from the heights, we turned a little to the left, and found ourſelves on the ſide of a rivulet, which brought us into a deep vale. The various caſcades formed by this ſtream, in precipitating itſelf over the rocks; the ancient fir-trees with which it is ſurrounded, a part of which have fallen from age, and lie acroſs its courſe; the furnaces belonging to ſome copper mines, half deſtroyed by the Engliſh; theſe ruins of nature, and theſe ravages

vages of war, compoſed the moſt poetic, or according to the Engliſh expreſſion, the moſt romantic picture; for it is preciſely what is called in England *a romantic proſpect*. It is here that Colonel Moyland's father-in-law has fitted up a little rural aſylum, where his family go to avoid the heats of the ſummer, and where they ſometimes paſs whole nights in liſtening to the ſong of the *mocking bird*, for the nightingale does not ſing in America. We know that great muſicians are oftener to be met with in the courts of deſpots, than in republics. Here the ſongſter of the night is neither the graceful *Melico*, nor the pathetic *Tenducci*; he is the *Bouffon Caribaldi*: he has no ſong, and conſequently no ſentiment peculiar to himſelf: he counterfeits in the evening what he has heard in the day. Has he heard the lark or the thruſh, it is the lark or the thruſh you hear. Have ſome workmen been employed in the woods, or has he been near their houſe, he will ſing preciſely as they do. If they are Scotchmen, he will repeat you the air of ſome gentle and plaintive

tale; if they are Germans, you will diſcover the clumſy gaiety of a Swabian, or Alſatian. Sometimes he cries like a child, at others he laughs like a young girl: nothing, in ſhort, is more entertaining than this comic bird; but he performs only in ſummer, and ſo it happened that I never had the good fortune to hear him.*

After travelling two miles in this ſort of gorge, the woods begin to open, and we ſoon found ourſelves beyond the mountains. On the brow of theſe mountains, to the ſouth, were the huts occupied by a part of the army in 1779, after the battle of *Monmouth*. We ſoon arrived at Colonel Moyland's, or rather at Colonel Vanhorn's, his father-in-law. This manor is in a beautiful ſituation; it is ſurrounded by ſome trees, the approach is decorated with a graſs plot, and if it was better taken care of, one would think ones-ſelf in the neighbourhood of London, rather than in that of New York. Mr. Vanhorn came to

* The Tranſlator, as well as moſt travellers in America, particularly in the middle ſtates, can teſtify the accuracy of this account. TRANSLATOR.

to meet me: he is a tall, luſty man, near ſixty years of age, but vigorous, hearty, and good humoured; he is called Colonel from the ſtation he held in the militia, under the Engliſh government. He reſigned ſome time before the war: he was then a merchant and cultivator, paſſing the winter at New York, and the ſummer in the country; but ſince the war he has quitted that town, and retired to his manor, always faithful to his country, without rendering himſelf odious to the Engliſh, with whom he has left two of his ſons in the Jamaica trade, but who, if the war continues, are to ſell their property and come and live with their father. Nothing can prove more ſtrongly the integrity of his conduct, than the eſteem in which he is held by both parties. Situated at ten miles from Staten Iſland, near to *Rariton*, *Amboy*, and *Brunſwick*, he has frequently found himſelf in the midſt of the theatre of war; ſo that he has ſometimes had the Americans with him, ſometimes the Engliſh. It even happened to him once in the ſame day, to give a breakfaſt to Lord Cornwallis

and a dinner to General *Lincoln*. Lord Cornwallis, informed that the latter had ſlept at Mr. Vanhorn's, came to take him by ſurpriſe; but Lincoln, getting intelligence of his deſign, retired into the woods. Lord Cornwallis, aſtoniſhed not to find him, aſked if the American General was not concealed in his houſe: "No," replied Mr. Vanhorn, bluntly. "On your honour?" ſays Cornwallis. "On my honour, and if you doubt it, here are the keys, you may ſearch every where." "I ſhall take your word for it," ſaid Lord Cornwallis, and aſked for ſome breakfaſt; an hour afterwards he returned to the army. Lincoln, who was concealed at no great diſtance, immediately returned, and dined quietly with his hoſts.

The acquaintance I made with Mr. Vanhorn being very prompt and cordial, he conducted me to the parlour, where I found his wife, his three daughters, a young lady of the neighbourhood, and two young officers. Mrs. Vanhorn is an old lady, who, from her countenance, her dreſs, and her de-

deportment, perfectly reſembled a picture of Vandyke. She does the honours of the table with exactneſs, helps every body without ſaying a word, and the reſt of the time is like a family portrait. Her three daughters are not amiſs: Mrs. Moyland, the eldeſt, is ſix months advanced in her pregnancy; the youngeſt only twelve years old, but the ſecond is marriageable. She appeared to be on terms of great familiarity with one of the young officers, who was in a very elegant undreſs, forming a good repreſentation of an agreeable country ſquire; at table he picked her nuts for her, and often took her hands. I imagined that he was an intended huſband; but the other officer, with whom I had the opportunity of converſing as he accompanied us in the evening, told me that he did not believe there was any idea of marriage between them. I mention theſe trifles only to ſhew the extreme liberty that prevails between the two ſexes, as long as they are unmarried. It is no crime for a girl to embrace a young man; it would be a very heinous one for a married woman even to ſhew

ſhew a deſire of pleaſing.* Mrs. Carter,† a handſome young woman, whoſe huſband is

* Though this freedom prevails amongſt all ranks, it is particularly ſtriking amongſt the middling claſſes and common people. Not to ſpeak of the New England *bundling*, a practice which has been ſo often mentioned, the Tranſlator has ſeen a grave Quaker and his wife ſitting on their bench at their door, as is the cuſtom at Philadelphia in the ſummer evenings, and along ſide of them the 'prentice boy of ſixteen, and the ſervant girl, or perhaps one of the daughters of the family, not only kiſſing and embracing each other, but proceeding to ſuch familiarities as would ſhock modeſty, and draw down the vengeance of the virtuous citizen of London; and all this, not only without reprehenſion, but even with marks of complacency on the part of the good old folks. Even the *laſt ſlip*, is no eſſential blemiſh in the character of the frail fair one. Both ſexes arrive early at puberty, their conſtitutions are warm, there are few reſtraints, and they loſe no time in compleating the great object, the population of the country.

TRANSLATOR.

† Mrs. Carter is the daughter of General *Schuyler*, and is now called *Church*; her huſband, *Mr. John Barker Church*, having re-aſſumed his real name on his return to England ſince the peace. He is an Engliſh gentleman of a very reſpectable family and connections; but having been unfortunate in buſineſs in London, in the outſet of life, retired to America, where, from his known principles, he was re-

is concerned in furniſhing our army with proviſions, and lives at preſent at Newport, told me, that going down one morning into her huſband's office, not much decked out, but in a rather elegant French undreſs, a farmer of the Maſſachuſſet's State, who was there on buſineſs, ſeemed ſurpriſed at ſeeing her, and aſked who that young lady was. On being told, Mrs. Carter—"*Aye!*" ſaid he, loud enough for her to hear him, "*A wife and a mother, truly; has no buſineſs to be ſo well dreſſed.*"

At three o'clock I got on horſeback, with Colonel Moyland, and Captain Herne, one of the young officers I had dined with. He is in the light cavalry, and conſequently

ceived as a good whig. He took the name of *Carter*, that his friends might hear nothing of him, until by his induſtry he had retrieved his affairs. His activity in the revolution, brought him acquainted with General Schuyler, whoſe daughter he ſoon after married; and on the arrival of the French troops, got a principal ſhare of the contract for ſupplying them, in conjunction with Col. Wadſworth. Since the war he has returned to Europe, with a very conſiderable fortune, ſettled all his affairs, and is happily and honourably reſtored to his friends and family.

TRANSLATOR.

quently in Colonel Moyland's regiment. His ſize and figure, which I had already remarked, appeared to ſtill more advantage on horſeback. I obſerved that he was ſeated in a very noble and eaſy manner, and in perfect conformity to our principles of horſemanſhip. I aſked him where he had ſtudied horſemanſhip, he told me at his own regiment; that his deſire to teach the ſoldiers induced him to learn it; and that he made it his buſineſs to render them as expert in the exerciſe as himſelf. Though but one and twenty, he had already acquired great experience, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf the preceding year, in an affair, where a ſmall body of American light horſe beat a much more conſiderable one of Engliſh dragoons. I had a long converſation with him, and he always ſpoke to me with a modeſty, and a grace which would be favourably received by all the military in Europe, and which, to all appearance, would be as ſucceſsful at Paris as in camps.

We had ſcarcely proceeded three miles, before we found ourſelves in the Prince-Town

Town road, and on the banks of the Rariton, which may be eaſily paſſed by fording, or over a wooden bridge. Two miles farther we croſſed the *Millſtone*, the left bank of which we followed to Somerſet Court-houſe. Of all the parts of America I had hitherto paſſed through, this is the moſt open; we meet with handſome little plains here, where from fifteen to twenty thouſand men might be encamped. General Howe had not leſs when he paſſed the Rariton in 1777. His right was ſupported by a wood, beyond which runs the Millſtone; his left alſo extended towards other woods. General Waſhington at that time occupied the camp at Middlebrook, and General *Sullivan*, at the head of only 1500 men, was ſix miles from the army, and three miles from the left of the enemy. In this poſition he was near enough to haraſs them, without committing himſelf, as he had in his rear the mountains of *Saourland*. They who, in the laſt war, have paſſed through Saourland, will eaſily conceive that the country to which the German emigrants have given this name,

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is not very eaſy of acceſs. I found my ſuite at Somerſet Court-houſe, where they were waiting for me in a pretty good inn, but as there was ſtill ſome daylight, and I had calculated my next day's journey, which required that I ſhould gain ſomething in the preſent, I determined to proceed further. The night, which ſoon came on, prevented me from making any more obſervations on the country. After once more paſſing the Millſtone, and getting well out of a horrible ſlough, we halted at *Gregg-Town*, where we ſlept at Skilman's tavern, an indifferent inn, but kept by very obliging people. Captain Herne continued his route. Our next day's ride preſented us with very intereſting objects: we were to ſee two places which will be for ever dear to the Americans, ſince it was there the firſt rays of hope brightened upon them, or, to expreſs it more properly, that the ſafety of the country was effected. Theſe celebrated places are *Prince-Town*, and *Trenton*. I ſhall not ſay I went to ſee them, for they lay preciſely in the road. Let the reader judge then how much I was

out

out of humour, on ſeeing ſo thick a fog riſing, as to prevent me from diſtinguiſhing objects at fifty paces from me; but I was in a country where one muſt deſpair of nothing. The fortune of the day was like that of America; the fog ſuddenly diſperſed, and I found myſelf travelling on the right bank of the Millſtone, in a narrow valley. Two miles from Gregg-Town we quit this valley, and mount the higheſt of *Rockey-Hill*, where are a few houſes. *King's-Town* is a mile farther, but ſtill on the Millſtone; the *Maidenhead* road ends here, and its communication is facilitated by a bridge built over the rivulet. It is here that General Waſhington halted after the affair of Prince Town. After marching from midnight until two o'clock in the afternoon, almoſt continually fighting: he wiſhed to collect the troops, and give them ſome reſt; he knew, however, that Lord Cornwallis was following him on the Maidenhead road; but he contented himſelf with taking up ſome planks of the bridge, and as ſoon as he ſaw the vanguard of the Engliſh appear, he continued his march quietly towards Middlebrook. Beyond King's-

King's-Town, the country begins to open, and continues ſo to Prince-Town. This town is ſituated on a ſort of platform not much elevated, but which commands on all ſides: it has only one ſtreet formed by the high road; there are about ſixty or eighty houſes, all tolerably well built, but little attention is paid them, for that is immediately attracted by an immenſe building, which is viſible at a conſiderable diſtance. It is a college built by the ſtate of Jerſey ſome years before the war; as this building is only remarkable from its ſize, it is unneceſſary to deſcribe it; the reader will only recollect, when I come to ſpeak of the engagement, that it is on the left of the road in going to Philadelphia, that it is ſituated towards the middle of the town, on a diſtinct ſpot of ground, and that the entrance to it is by a large ſquare court ſurrounded with lofty paliſades. The object which excited my curioſity, though very foreign from letters at that moment, brought me to the very gate of the college. I diſmounted for a moment to viſit this vaſt edifice, and was ſoon joined by Dr. *Witherſpoon*, Preſident of the univerſity.

He

He is a man of at leaſt ſixty, is a member of Congreſs, and much reſpected in this country. In accoſting me he ſpoke French, but I eaſily perceived that he had acquired his knowledge of that language, from reading, rather than converſation; which did not prevent me, however, from anſwering him, and continuing to converſe with him in French, for I ſaw that he was well pleaſed to diſplay what he knew of it. This is an attention which coſts little, and is too much neglected in a foreign country. To reply in Engliſh to a perſon who ſpeaks French to you, is to tell him you do not know my language ſo well as I do yours: in this, too, one is not unfrequently miſtaken. As for me, I always like better to have the advantage on my ſide, and to fight on my own ground. I converſed in French, therefore, with the Preſident, and from him I learnt that this college is a complete univerſity; that it can contain two hundred ſtudents, and more, including the out boarders: that the diſtribution of the ſtudies is formed ſo as to make only one claſs for the *humanities*; which cor-

reſponds with our firſt four claſſes; that two others are deſtined to the perfecting the youth in the ſtudy of Latin and Greek; a fourth to natural Philoſophy, Mathematics, Aſtronomy, &c. and a fifth to moral Philoſophy. Parents may ſupport their children at this college at the annual expence of forty guineas. Half of this ſum is appropriated to lodgings and maſters; the reſt is ſufficient for living, either in the college, or at board in private houſes in the town. This uſeful eſtabliſhment has fallen into decay ſince the war; there were only forty ſtudents when I ſaw it. A handſome collection of books had been made; the greateſt part of which has been embezzled. The Engliſh even carried off from the chapel the portrait of the King of England, a loſs for which the Americans eaſily conſoled themſelves, declaring they would have no King amongſt them, not even a painted one. There ſtill remains a very beautiful aſtronomical machine; but as it was then out of order, and differs in no reſpect from that I ſaw afterwards in Philadelphia, I ſhall take no notice

tice of it.* I confeſs alſo that I was rather anxious to examine the traces of General Waſhington, in a country where every object reminded me of his ſucceſſes. I paſſed rapidly therefore from Parnaſſus to the field of Mars, and from the hands of Preſident Witherſpoon † into thoſe of

 Colonel

* This is the celebrated *Orrery of Rittenhouſe*, the ſuppoſed deſtruction of which made ſo much noiſe at the beginning of the civil war, and ſullied the Engliſh name in the eyes of all enlightened Europe. Juſtice, however, requires from the Tranſlator to declare, that from his enquiries, and examination on the ſpot, the report had no other foundation than, that they intended to remove, and ſend it as a preſent to the King. It may poſſibly be ſaid, and would to God that ſuch a conjecture were not too well warranted by the whole conduct of the war, that to this motive only may be attributed its preſervation; however that may be, their ſudden diſlodgement from Prince-Town preſerved the Orrery, and, as far as that goes, the national character.

TRANSLATOR.

† This gentleman is ſo well known in Europe as to render it unneceſſary to enter into any particulars reſpecting him. He certainly played a much more important part on the theatre of this grand revolution, than by heading the low church party, as it is called in Scotland, and diſplaying his eloquence, as I have ſeen him, at preſbyteries and ſynods. TRANSLATOR.

Colonel Moyland. They were both equally upon their own ground; ſo that while one was pulling me by the right arm, telling me, Here is the philoſophy claſs; the other was plucking me by the left, to ſhew me where one hundred and eighty Engliſh laid down their arms.

Every perſon who, ſince the commencement of the war, has only given himſelf the trouble of reading the Gazettes, may recollect that General Waſhington ſurprized the town of Trenton the 25th of December, 1776; that, immediately after this expedition, he retired to the other ſide of the Delaware, but that having received a ſmall addition to his force, he repaſſed the river a ſecond time, and encamped at Trenton. Lord Cornwallis had now collected his troops, before diſperſed, in winter quarters. He marched againſt Waſhington, who was obliged to place the *Aſſampik*, or river of Trenton, between the enemy and him. By this means the town was divided between the two armies; the Americans occupying the left bank of the creek, and the Engliſh the right.

right. Lord Cornwallis's army was receiving hourly reinforcements; two briagdes from Brunſwick were expected to join him, and he only waited their arrival to make the attack.* General Waſhington, on the other hand, was deſtitute of proviſions, and cut off from all communication with the fertile country of the Jerſeys, and the four eaſtern ſtates. Such was his poſition, when, on the ſecond of January, at one o'clock in the morning, he ordered the fires to be well kept up, and ſome ſoldiers to be left to take care of them, whilſt the remainder of the army ſhould march by the right, to fall back afterwards on the left, paſs the rear of the Engliſh army, and enter the Jerſeys. It was neceſ-

* Lord Cornwallis made one or two attempts to force the ſmall ſtone bridge over the creek at Trenton, but was ſo galled by a ſmall battery which commanded it, and a body of choſen men, placed by General Waſhington in the Mill-houſe, that he gave up the attempt, from a contempt of his enemy; looking upon them, as his certain prey, their retreat over the Delaware, then full of ice, being impracticable; for the ſame reaſon, probably, he made no attempt to croſs the creek in any other part.

TRANSLATOR.

ſary to throw themſelves conſiderably to the right, in order to reach *Allens-Town*, and the ſources of the Aſſampik, and then to fall on Prince-Town. About a mile from this town, General Waſhington's vanguard, on entering the main road, fell in with Colonel *Mawhood*, who was marching quietly at the head of his regiment in his way to Maidenhead, and thence to Trenton. *General Mercer* immediately attacked him, but was repulſed by the enemy's fire; he then attempted to charge with the bayonet, but unfortunately, in leaping a ditch, was ſurrounded and put to the ſword by the Engliſh. The troops, who were in general militia, diſcouraged by the loſs of their commander, retreated into the woods, to wait for the remainder of the army, which arrived ſoon after: but Colonel Mawhood had continued his route to Maidenhead, ſo that General Waſhington had only to do with the forty-eighth regiment, part of which had appeared upon the main road on the firſt alarm of the attack. He puſhed theſe troops vigouroufly, diſperſed them, and made fifty or

ſixty

ſixty priſoners. General Sullivan, however, was advancing rapidly, leaving on his left the Prince-Town road, with the deſign of turning that town, and of cutting off the retreat of the troops, who occupied it, to Brunſwick. Two hundred Engliſh had thrown themſelves into a wood by which he was to paſs, but they did not long hold it, and returned in diſorder to *Naſſau-hall*, the name of the college I have been ſpeaking of. This they ought to have taken poſſeſſion of, and have there made a vigourous defence. To all appearance their officers were bewildered, for inſtead of entering the houſe, or even the court, they remained in a ſort of wide ſtreet, where they were ſurrounded and obliged to lay down their arms, to the number of one hundred and eighty, not including fourteen officers. As for General Waſhington, after taking or diſperſing every thing before him, he collected his troops, marched on to King's-Town, where he halted, as I have already mentioned, and continued his route towards Middlebrook; having thus marched near thirty miles in

one day, but ſtill regretting that his trooops were too much fatigued to proceed to Brunſwick, which he could have taken without any difficulty. Lord Cornwallis had now nothing left but to haſten thither as faſt as poſſible with his whole army. From this moment, Pennſylvania was in ſafety, the Jerſeys were evacuated, and the Engliſh reduced to the towns of Brunſwick and Amboy, where they were obliged to act always on the defenſive, not being able to ſtir, nor even to forage, without being driven back, and roughly handled by the militia of the country. Thus we ſee that the great events of war are not always great battles, and humanity may receive ſome conſolation from this ſole reflexion, that the art of war is not neceſſarily a ſanguinary art, that the talents of the commanders ſpare the lives of the ſoldiers, and that ignorance alone is prodigal of blood.

The affair of Trenton, whence this originated, coſt no dearer, and was perhaps more glorious, without being more uſeful. *Addiſon* ſaid, in viſiting the different monuments

ments of Italy, that he imagined himſelf treading on *claſſic* ground; all my ſteps were on martial ground, and I was in the ſame morning to ſee two fields of battle. I arrived early at Trenton, having remarked nothing intereſting on the road, unleſs it be the beauty of the country, which every where correſponds with the reputation of the Jerſeys, called the garden of America. On approaching Trenton, the road deſcends a little, and permits one to ſee at the eaſt end of the town the orchard where the Heſſians haſtily collected, and ſurrendered priſoners. This is almoſt all that can be ſaid of this affair, which has been amplified by the Gazettes on one ſide and the other. We know that General Waſhington, at the head only of three thouſand men, paſſed the Delaware in dreadful weather, on the night of the 24th and 25th of December; that he divided his troops into two columns, one of which made a circuit to gain a road upon the left leading to the Maidenhead-road, whilſt the other marched along the river, ſtraight to Trenton; that the main guard of the Heſſians was ſurpriſed,

ed, and that the brigade had ſcarcely time to get under arms. The park of artillery was near a church, they were attempting to harneſs the horſes, when the American vanguard, which had forced the piquet, fired on, and killed almoſt all of them. General Waſhington arrived with the right column; the Heſſians were ſurrounded, and fired a few random ſhot, without order. General Waſhington ſuffered them to do ſo, but he availed himſelf of the firſt moment of the ſlackening of their fire, to ſend an officer who ſpoke French to them, for our language ſupplies the want of all others. The Heſſians hearkened very willingly to his propoſal. The General promiſed that the effects they had left in their houſes ſhould not be pillaged, and they ſoon laid down their arms, which they had ſcarcely had time to take up. Their poſition was certainly not a good one; nor can I conceive it poſſible that this could be a field of battle fixed upon in caſe of an alarm. They would have had a ſure retreat by paſſing the bridge over the creek at the ſouth end of the town, but the vanguard of the right column had got poſſeſſion

poſſeſſion of it. Such, in a few words, was this event, which is neither honourable nor diſhonourable for the Heſſians; but which proves that no troops exiſting can be reckoned on, when they ſuffer themſelves to be ſurprized.

After viewing ſo many battles, it was but right to think of dinner. I found my head quarters well eſtabliſhed in a good inn kept by *Mr. Williams*. The ſign of this inn is a philoſophical, or, if you will, a political emblem. It repreſents a beaver at work, with his little teeth, to bring down a large tree, and underneath is written, *perſeverando*. I had ſcarce alighted from my horſe, before I received a viſit from Mr. *Livingſton*,* Governor of the Jerſeys. He is an old man much reſpected, and who paſſes for a very ſenſible man. He was pleaſed

* This gentleman was ſo active and uſeful in the revolution, that he was long the marked object of tory vengeance, he was obliged, for many months, to ſhift his quarters every day, and under the neceſſity of ſleeping every night in a different place; but nothing could abate his zeal, he never quitted his government, and was indefatigable in his exertions to animate the people. TRANSLATOR.

pleaſed to accompany me in a little walk I took before dinner, to examine the environs of the town, and ſee the camp occupied by the Americans before the affair of Prince-Town. I returned to dinner with Colonel Moyland, Mr. de Gimat, and two Aides de Camp of M. de la Fayette, who arrived ſome time before me. We were all acquainted, very happy to meet together and to dine at our eaſe, when a Juſtice of the Peace, who was at Trenton on buſineſs, and a Captain of the American artillery, came and ſat down to table with us, without any ceremony; it being the cuſtom of the country for travellers, when they meet at the hour of dinner, to dine together. The dinner, of which I did the honours, was excellent; but they did not ſeem to know that it was I who had ordered it. There was wine at table, a very rare and dear article in America; they drank moderately of it, and roſe from table before us. I had given orders that the dinner ſhould be charged to me; they learnt this on going out, but ſet off without ſaying a word to me on the ſubject. I have often had occaſion to obſerve, that there

there is more of ceremony than compliment in America. All their politeneſs is mere form, ſuch as drinking healths to the company, obſerving ranks, giving up the right hand, &c. But they do nothing of this but what has been taught them, not a particle of it is the reſult of ſentiment; in a word, politeneſs here is like religion in Italy, every thing in practice, but without any principle.

At four o'clock I ſet out, after ſeparating, but not without regret, from the good Colonel Moyland. I took the road to Briſtol, croſſing the river three miles below Trenton. Six miles from thence you paſs a wood; and then approach the Delaware, which you do not quit till you arrive at Briſtol. It was night when I got to this town. The inn I alighted at is kept by a Mr. *Benezet*, of French extraction, and of a very reſpectable *Quaker* family; but he is a deſerter from their communion. He is of the church of England, and has retained none of the acknowledged principles of his brethren, except that of making you pay dearer than other people: in other reſpects his inn is handſome,

handſome, the windows look upon the Delaware, and the view from them is ſuperb; for this river is nearly a mile broad, and flows through a very delightful country. *

I left Briſtol the 30th of November, between nine and ten in the morning, and arrived at Philadelphia at two. The road leading to this city is very wide and handſome; one paſſes through ſeveral ſmall towns or villages, nor can one go five hundred paces without ſeeing beautiful country houſes. As you advance you find a richer and better cultivated country, with a great number of orchards and paſtures; every thing, in ſhort, anſwers the neighbourhood of a large town, and this road is not unlike thoſe round London. Four miles

* This landlord, like his brethren at Richmond and Shooter's-hill, makes his gueſts pay for the proſpect, and he has the ſame temptations; the ride from Philadelphia here on parties of pleaſure being very common in ſummer, and the ſituation of his houſe on the great road to the Jerſeys, and the northward, always enſuring him a number of travellers.

TRANSLATOR.

miles from Briſtol you paſs the creek of *Neſhaminy* over a ferry. It is pretty large, and runs in ſuch a direction as to form a ſort of peninſula of the country between it and the Delaware. It had ſtruck me from the view of the country, and from inſpecting the chart, that on the retreat of Clinton, General Waſhington might have paſſed the ſources of this river, and marched along it towards the Delaware. It would have covered his right flank, and, by this precaution, he would have been at liberty to have approached the Delaware, and to have croſſed it as ſoon as Clinton. Mr. de Gimat, to whom I made this obſervation, anſwered me, that General Waſhington never being ſure of the moment when the Engliſh would evacuate Philadelphia, was afraid of quitting Lancaſter, where he had all his magazines. The town of *Frankfort*, which is about fifteen miles from Briſtol, and five from Philadelphia, is pretty conſiderable. A creek runs in the front of this town, over which are two ſtone bridges; for it divides itſelf into two branches, one of which appeared to me to be artificial,

artificial, and deſtined to turn a great number of mills, that furniſh Philadelphia with flour. Theſe mills, ſo neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of the two armies, made the town of Frankfort for a long time an object of contention, which brought on ſeveral ſkirmiſhes; but the poſition is ſuch as to be advantageous to neither party, for the river runs in a bottom, and the ground is of an equal elevation on both ſides.

The nearer you approach to Philadelphia, the more you diſcover the traces of the war. The ruins of houſes deſtroyed, or burnt, are the monuments the Engliſh have left behind them; but theſe ruins preſent only the image of a tranſient misfortune, and not that of long adverſity. By the ſide of theſe ruined edifices, thoſe which ſtill exiſt proclaim proſperity and abundance. You imagine you ſee the country after a ſtorm, ſome trees are overthrown, but the others are ſtill cloathed with flowers and verdure. Before you enter Philadelphia, you traverſe the lines thrown up by the Engliſh in the winter of 1777—8; they are ſtill diſcoverable in many place.

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The part of the lines I now ſaw, is that of the right, the flank of which is ſupported by a large redoubt, or ſquare battery, which commands alſo the river. Some parts of the parapet have been conſtructed with an elegance which encreaſes labour, more than it fortifies the work: they are made in the form of a *ſaw*, that is to ſay, compoſed of a ſeries of ſmall *redans*, each of which is capable only of containing three men. As ſoon as I had paſſed theſe lines, my eye was ſtruck with ſeveral large buildings; the two principal were a range of barracks conſtructed by the Engliſh, and a large hoſpital lately built at the expence of the Quakers. Inſenſibly I found myſelf in the town, and after following three or four very wide ſtreets, perfectly ſtraight, I arrived at the gate of M. le Chevalier de la Luzerne.

It was juſt twenty days ſince I left Newport, during which time I had only ſtayed one at Voluntown, and three at the American army. I was not ſorry therefore to get into quarters of refreſhment, and could not deſire any more agreeable than the houſe of the Chevalier de la Luzerne. I had

had a great deal of time to converſe with him before dinner; for at Philadelphia, as in London, it is the cuſtom to dine at five, and frequently at ſix. I ſhould have liked it as well had the company been not ſo numerous, as to oblige me to make acquaintance with a part of the town; but our miniſter maintains a conſiderable ſtate, and gives frequently great dinners, ſo that it is difficult not to fall into this ſort of ambuſcade. The gueſts, whoſe names I recollect, were Mr. *Governour Morris*, * a young man full of wit and vivacity, but unfortunately maimed, having loſt a leg by accident. His friends congratulated him on this event, ſaying that, now he would wholly dedicate himſelf to public buſineſs. Mr. *Powel*, a man of conſiderable fortune, without

* This gentleman loſt his leg by a fall from a phaeton. He is a man of exquiſite wit, and an excellent underſtanding. An admirable companion at the table, and the toilet, he was in univerſal requeſt; he was in all the ſecrets of his nameſake the financier, and refined in the dark hiſtory of political intrigue. Notwithſtanding his misfortune, Nature did not form him for inactivity.

TRANSLATOR.

without taking any part in the government, his attachment to the common cauſe, having appeared hitherto rather equivocal. Mr. *Pendleton*, Chief Juſtice of South Carolina, a remarkably tall man, with a very diſtinguiſhed countenance; he had the courage to hang three tories at Charles-Town, a few days before the ſurrender of the town, and was accordingly in great danger of loſing his life, had he not eſcaped out of the hands of the Engliſh, though comprized in the capitulation. Colonel *Laurens*, ſon of Mr. Laurens, late Preſident of Congreſs, and now a priſoner in the Tower of London; he ſpeaks very good French, which is not ſurprizing as he was educated at Geneva; but it is to his honour, that being married in London, he ſhould quit England to ſerve America; he has diſtinguiſhed himſelf on ſeveral occaſions, particularly at *German-Town* where he was wounded.* Mr. *White*,† Chap-

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* Among the numerous traits that might be cited to do honour to this illuſtrious young man, ſo prematurely, and unfortunately loſt to his family

lain to Congreſs, a handſome man, and of a mild and tolerant character. General *Mifflin*,

and his country, the Tranſlator has ſelected the following; *extracted from the Journals of Congreſs.*—

Thurſday November, 5, 1778.

Reſolved,

"That John Laurens, Eſq. Aide de Camp to General Waſhington, be preſented with a continental commiſſion of Lieutenant Colonel, in teſtimony of the ſenſe which Congreſs entertain of his patriotic and ſpirited ſervices as a volunteer in the American army, and of his brave conduct in ſeveral actions, particularly in that of Rhode Iſland on the 29th of Auguſt laſt; and that General Waſhington be directed, whenever an opportunity ſhall offer, to give Lieutenant Colonel Laurens command agreeable to his rank."

Friday, November 6, 1778.

"A letter of this day from Lieutenant Colonel "John Laurens was read," expreſſing "his grati- "tude for the unexpected honour which Congreſs "were pleaſed to confer on him by the reſolutions "paſſed yeſterday, and the high ſatisfaction it "would have afforded him, could he have accepted "it without injuring the rights of the officers in "the line of the army, and doing an evident in- "juſtice to his colleagues in the family of the "commander in chief: that having been a ſpec- "tator of the convulſions occaſioned in the army "by diſputes of rank, he holds the tranquillity of it

Mifflin,‡ whoſe talents have ſhone alike in war and politics; he has been Quarter-

" too dear to be inſtrumental in diſturbing it; and " therefore entreating Congreſs to ſuppreſs the " Reſolve of yeſterday, ordering him a Commiſſion " of Lieutenant Colonel; and to accept his ſincere " thanks for the intended honour." Whereupon

Reſolved, That Congreſs highly approve the diſintereſted and patriotic principles upon which Lieutenant Colonel Laurens has declined to accept the promotion conferred on him by Congreſs.

TRANSLATOR.

† Mr. White is the Clergyman of St. Peter's church, and brother to Mrs. Morris, the financier's lady. TRANSLATOR.

‡ I had the happineſs of enjoying the particular acquaintance of the General. He is a ſmart, ſenſible, active and agreeable little man. I never ſaw him without thinking of *Garrick*; he is about the ſame ſize and figure, and his countenance ſparkles with ſignificance and expreſſion. To him and his brother I am indebted for the moſt hoſpitable reception, and continued civilities and attention; and the General, beſides ſhewing me on the ſpot, the whole manœuvres of German-Town, and the proceedings on the Marquis de la Fayette's expedition over the Schuylkill, furniſhed me with many intereſting particulars reſpecting the conduct of the war. I knew there was a diſguſt, and the cauſe of it, but all his narratives ſeemed to be thoſe of a man of honour, unmixed with perſonal conſiderations.

Maſter-General of the army; but quitted that plece on account of ſome preference ſhewn to General Green. Don *Franceſco* Chargé des Affaires of Spain; and I believe that is all that can be ſaid of him: M. de *Ternan*, a French officer in the ſervice of America; he had been employed in ſome commiſſions in America, and after executing them, he took to the profeſſion of arms; he is a young man of great wit and talents; he draws well, and ſpeaks Engliſh like his own language; he was made priſoner

On ſignifying my intention of making a tour into the interior parts of Penſylvania, he was ſo good as to give me the following letter of introduction, to his friend Colonel Patton, in caſe I paſſed by his neighbourhood. I have preſerved it as characteriſtic at once of his own frankneſs, and American hoſpitality.

Dear Patton,

Mr.—— —— my particular friend, will favour you with a viſit at the Spring.—I have aſſured him that he will meet a hearty welcome.

Philadelphia, *Yours,*
3d May, 1782. *THO. MIFFIN.*

TRANSLATOR.

ſoner at Charles-Town: * the laſt whoſe name I recollect is Colonel *Armand*, that is, M. de la *Rouerie*, nephew of M. de la *Belinage*. He was as celebrated in France for his paſſion for Mademoiſelle B----, as he is in America for his courage and capacity. † His family having compelled

 him

* He is at preſent a Colonel in the ſervice of Holland, in the legion of Maillebois.

† *M. le Marquis de la Rouerie* was then very young: his ſubſequent conduct has proved, that Nature, in giving a ſuſceptible and impaſſioned mind, has not made him a preſent likely to be always fatal to him, glory and honour have employed all its activity; and it is an obſervation which merits to be conſigned in hiſtory, as well as in this Journal, that carrying with him, as he did to America, all the heroic courage, and romantic notions of chivalry of the ancient French nobleſſe, he could ſo well conform to Republican manners, that far from availing himſelf of his birth, he would only make himſelf known by his Chriſtian name: hence he was always called Colonel *Armand*. He commanded a legion which was deſtroyed in Carolina, at the battle of Camden, and in the remainder of that unfortunate campaign. In 1781, he went to France, purchaſed there every thing neceſſary for arming and equipping a new legion, and, on his return to America, he advanced the coſt of them to Congreſs. Before the peace he was advanced to the rank of Brigadier General.

him to abandon an attachment the conſequences of which they dreaded, he buried himſelf in a celebrated and profound retirement, (the moneſtery of La Trappe. T.) but he ſoon quitted it for America, when he devoted himſelf to a more glorious abſtinence, and to more meritorious mortifications. His character is gay, his wit agreeable, and nobody would wiſh to ſee him make the vow of ſilence.

Such were the gueſts with whom I got acquainted; for I do not ſpeak of M. de Dannemours, Conſul of France, at Baltimore, M. de Marbois, Secretary of the embaſſy, nor of the family of M. de la Luzerne, which is pretty conſiderable. The dinner was ſerved in the American, or if you will, in the Engliſh faſhion; conſiſting of two courſes, one comprehending the entrées, the roaſt meat, and the warm ſide diſhes; the other, the ſweet paſtry, and confectionary. When this is removed, the cloth is taken off, and aples, nuts and cheſnuts are ſerved: it is then that healths are drank; the coffee which comes afterwards ſerves as a ſignal to riſe from table. Theſe healths

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or toaſts, as I have already obſerved, have no inconvenience, and only ſerve to prolong the converſation, which is always more animated at the end of the repaſt; they oblige you to commit no exceſs, wherein they greatly differ from the German healths, and from thoſe we ſtill give in our garriſons and provinces. But I find it an abſurd, and truly barbarous practice, the firſt time you drink, and at the beginning of dinner, to call out ſucceſſively to each individual, to let him know you drink his health. The actor in this ridiculous comedy is ſometimes ready to die with thirſt, whilſt he is obliged to enquire the names, or catch the eyes of five and twenty or thirty perſons, and the unhappy perſons to whom he addreſſes himſelf, with impatience, for it is certainly not poſſible for them to beſtow a very great attention to what they are eating, and what is ſaid to them, being inceſſantly called to on the right and left, or pulled by the ſleeve by charitable neighbours, who are ſo kind as to acquaint them with the politeneſs they are receiving. The moſt civil of the Americans

ricans are not content with this general call; every time they drink they make partial ones, for example, four or five perſons at a time. Another cuſtom compleats the deſpair of poor foreigners, if they be ever ſo little abſent, or have good appetites: theſe general and partial attacks terminate in downright duels. They call to you from one end of the table to the other; *Sir, will you permit me to drink a glaſs of wine with you?* This propoſal always is accepted, and does not admit the excuſe of the Great-Couſin, *one does not drink without being acquainted.* The bottle is then paſſed to you, and you muſt look your enemy in the face, for I can give no other name to the man who exerciſes ſuch an empire over my will: you wait till he likewiſe has poured out his wine, and taken his glaſs; you then drink mournfully with him, as a recruit imitates the corporal in his exerciſe. But to do juſtice to the Americans, they themſelves feel the ridicule of theſe cuſtoms borrowed from Old England, and ſince laid aſide by her. They purpoſed to the Chevalier de la Luzerne to diſpenſe with

with them, knowing that his example would have great weight; but he thought proper to conform, and he did right. The more the French are known to be in poſſeſſion of giving their cuſtoms to other nations, the more ſhould they avoid the appearance of changing thoſe of the Americans. Happy our nation if her Ambaſſadors, and her travellers, had always ſo correct an underſtanding, and if they never loſt ſight of this obſervation, that of all men, the dancing maſter ſhould have the moſt negligent air!

After this dinner, which I may have poſſibly ſpun out too long, according to the cuſtom of the country, the Chevalier de la Luzerne took me to make viſits with him.* The

* The conduct of the Chevalier de la Luzerne in America juſtified every idea that has been formed of the ſuperior ſkill and addreſs of the French nation on embaſſies, and in the cabinet. He not only conformed to the manners, and cuſtoms of the country, but he ſtudied the character of every individual of the leaſt importance. He roſe early in the morning, and watched the hour that beſt ſuited their convenience, to wait on the Members of Congreſs, and the leading men of ſtate; at dinner he received company

The firſt was to Mr. Reed, Preſident of the State. This poſt correſponds with that of Governor in the other provinces, but without

of all political complexions, except *offenſive* tories; his afternoons were chiefly employed in viſiting the ladies, and in paſſing from one houſe to another; in theſe viſits he made no political exceptions, but on the contrary, paid his court particularly to the ladies in the ſuſpected families, an evidently wiſe policy; in this claſs, he was ſuppoſed to have a very agreeable, as well as uſeful acquaintance, in the two Miſs C——'s, who put no reſtraint upon their tongues, but were well informed of all the tranſactions of their party. Wherever he could not himſelf be preſent, Mr. Marbois, and Mr. Ottaw, the Secretaries were diſtributed, ſo that you could not make an afternoon's viſit to a *whig* or *tory* family in the city, without being ſure to meet with this political General or one of his Aides de Camp. When he made a public entertainment, and the preſence of the tory ladies gave offence to thoſe of the patriotic party, he always pleaded ignorance, contrived to ſhift the blame from himſelf, and throw it on the Secretaries, who were left to fight the battle in the beſt way they could over the tea table; but all this was carried on with undeſcribable addreſs, and ſo managed as to keep all parties in good humour with him. He indulged every man's peculiarities, and beſtowed the *petites attentions* on all. It is thus the French maintain their aſcendancy in the cabinet, which is worth a thouſand

out the ſame authority; for the Govern-
ment of Penſylvania is purely democratic,
conſiſting

victories, and their ſuperiority in the Courts of Europe, under every varied form of Government, from Holland to Conſtantinople. I cannot help contraſting with this policy, an inſtance of Engliſh diplomatic conduct.—A very reſpectable ſenator of Sweden, previous to the revolution in that country, told me, that in a very hard ſtruggle, between the Engliſh and French parties in the ſenate, on ſome leading queſtion, the Engliſh Miniſter applied to him in his turn, for his ſuffrage; on his ſtarting ſome objection, the Miniſter turned angry, aſſumed a haughty tone, and obſerved that the Swedes did not know their true intereſt, that they might do as they thought proper, that England was the *only country* that could ſupport them, and left him much out of humour; the ſame language he held to all the ſenators. The French Ambaſſador, on the contrary, was paying his court to each ſenator, in his family, diſtributing favours, and making entertainments, and carried his point with barely *inſinuating*, what would be agreeable to his Court. Compare this anecdote with the well known conduct in Holland, of a Miniſter mightily extolled for his wiſdom and experience, *Sir Joſeph Yorke*, and his memorials, before the late fatal breach with that country, and the ſucceſs of the Duke de la Vauguyon, which nothing but ſuch haughty, ill-timed language could have ſo rapidly produced, and judge whether *Sir William Temple* would have done the ſame. TRANSLATOR.

conſiſting only of a General Aſſembly, or Houſe of Commons, who name an executive Council, compoſed of twelve members poſſeſſing very limited powers, of the exerciſe of which they are obliged to give an account to the Aſſembly, in which they have no voice. Mr. Reed has been a General Officer in the American army, and has given proofs of courage, having had a horſe killed under him in the ſkirmiſh near *Whitemarſh*. It is he, whom *Governor Johnſtone* attempted to corrupt in 1778, when England ſent Commiſſioners to treat with Congreſs; but this attempt was confined to ſome inſinuations, entruſted to Mrs. Ferguſon. Mr. Reed, who is a ſenſible man, rather of an intriguing character, and above all eager of popular favour, made a great clamour, and publiſhed, and exaggerated the offers that were made him. The complaints of Mrs. Ferguſon, who found herſelf committed in this affair, a public declaration of Governor Johnſtone, whoſe object was to deny the facts, but which ſerved only to confirm them; various charges, and refutations, printed and made public,

produced

produced no other effect than to ſecond the views of Mr. Reed, and to make him attain his end, of playing a leading part in the country. Unfortunately his pretenſions, or his intereſt led him to declare himſelf the enemy of Dr. *Franklin.* * When I was at Philadelphia, it was no leſs than matter of queſtion to *recall* that reſpectable man;

* I make no doubt that the M. de Chaſtellux is correct in this aſſertion, but thus much I can ſay from perſonal knowledge, that Mr. Reed is one of warmeſt and moſt ſtrenuous ſupporters of the preſent democratic conſtitution of Penſylvania, the work of Dr. Franklin, and to ſubvert which almoſt all the perſonal enemies of Mr. Reed have been labouring for ſome years paſt. In Philadelphia, in 1782, the parties of conſtitutionaliſts, and anti-conſtitutionaliſts ran ſo high, as to occaſion frequent perſonal quarrels. Another fact is well known to many perſons in Europe, and to every body in America, that the attack on Dr. Franklin came from a much more powerful and intriguing quarter than that of Mr. Reed, who never was of any weight *in Congreſs.* Mr. Reed too was much attached to General Waſhington, whom the oppoſers of Dr. Franklin's conſtitution of Penſylvania, *affected* to hold in no very high reſpect. I never exchanged a word with Mr. Reed, my only wiſh is to aſcertain the truth. TRANSLATOR.

man; but the French party, or that of General Waſhington, or to expreſs it ſtill better the really patriotic party prevailed, and the matter finiſhed by ſending an officer to France to repreſent the wretched ſtate of the army, and to aſk for an aid of cloaths, tents, and money, of which it ſtood in much need. The choice fell on Colonel Laurens. *

Mr.

* Colonel Laurens obtained ſix millions of livres from the French Court, the greateſt part of which was expended in cloathing and neceſſaries for the American army, on his arrival in Europe in the ſpring of 1781. Mr. *Gillon*, who had the commiſſion of *Commodore* from the State of Carolina, and had been ſent over to purchaſe three frigates for that ſtate, came immediately from Holland to Paris, and prevailed on Colonel Laurens, who was of the ſame ſtate, to purchaſe a large quantity of the cloathing at Amſterdam, a meaſure highly offenſive to the French Court, to be ſhipped on board his frigate the *South Carolina*, which was to ſail *immediately*, and beſides her great force, carrying twenty-eight forty-two pounders, and twelve eighteens, had the legion of Luxembourg on board. The purchaſe was made accordingly at Amſterdam, the goods ſhipped on board the frigate, by which many private purpoſes were anſwered to Mr. Gillon, who, on ſome pretext however, after many months delay, and the Colo-

Mr. Reed has a handſome houſe arranged, and furniſhed in the Engliſh ſtyle.

nels return, removed the goods from the frigate, and ſhipped them on board two Dutch veſſels *to be taken under his convoy*; but to theſe he ſoon gave the ſlip, leaving them in September in the Texel, without ſaying a word of his intention; finding he did not return, they were conveyed back in October to Amſterdam, and relanded at an enormous expence to America, and to the great loſs of the army, for whom they were intended as a ſupply that winter; yet, on his return, he had addreſs enough to elude every inquiry into this very extraordinary tranſaction, to which eſcape, the univerſal eſteem in which *Mrs. Gillon*, his wife, was held, by every perſon in Carolina, contributed not a little. It may here be proper to correct an error which has ſlipped into all the Engliſh public prints of the day, and particulary into *Dodſley's Annual Regiſter*, on the ſubject of the frigate, the South Carolina. This frigate is mentioned in the liſt of Admiral *Zoutman's* fleet in the engagement off the Dogger's Bank in Auguſt, 1781. The Tranſlator was then at the Texel, ſaw the Dutch fleet ſail, and return after the engagement; during that interval had the frigate lying at anchor before his eyes, and was cloſe to her, on board another veſſel off the end of the *Haaks*, a great ſhoal at the mouth of the Texel, when the Dutch fleet entered in the moſt ſhattered condition. Mr. Gillon is himſelf a native of Rotterdam, but was on very bad terms with all the officers of the Dutch fleet, and indeed with almoſt all his countrymen. TRANSLATOR.

I found there *Mrs. Waſhington*, who had juſt arrived from Virginia, and was going to ſtay with her huſband, as ſhe does at the end of every campaign. She is about forty, or five and forty, rather plump, but freſh, and with an agreeable face. * After paſſing a quarter

* I had the pleaſure of paſſing a day or two with Mrs. Waſhington, at the General's houſe in Virginia, where ſhe appeared to me to be one of the beſt women in the world, and beloved by all about her. She has no family by the General, but was ſurrounded by her grand children, and Mrs. *Cuſtis*, her ſon's widow. The family were then in mourning for Mr. Cuſtis, her ſon by a former marriage, whoſe premature death was ſubject of public and private regret. He was brought up by the General as his own ſon, and formed himſelf ſucceſsfully on his model. He ſucceeded him as repreſentative for Fairfax county, and promiſed to be a very diſtinguiſhed member of ſociety, but having gone down to York-Town, after the capture of Cornwallis, to view the works, he caught a malignant fever at one of the hoſpitals, and was rapidly carried off. The General was uncommonly affected at his death, inſomuch that many of his friends imagined they perceived ſome change in his equanimity of temper, ſubſequent to that event. It is certain that they were upon terms of the moſt affectionate and manly friendſhip.

TRANSLATOR.

quarter of an hour at Mr. Reed's, we waited on Mr. Huntingdon, Preſident of Congreſs: We found him in his cabinet, lighted by a ſingle candle. This ſimplicity reminded me of that of the Fabricius's and the Philopemens. Mr. Huntingdon is an upright man, who eſpouſes no party, and may be relied on. He is a native of Connecticut, and was Delegate for that ſtate, when choſen Preſident.

My day having been ſufficiently taken up, the Chavalier de la Luzerne, conducted me to the houſe where he had ordered lodgings to be prepared for me. It was at the Spaniſh Miniſter's were there were ſeveral vacant apartments; for M. *Miralé*, who had occupied it, died a year before at Morris-Town. His Secretary has remained chargé des affaires, maſter of the houſe, and well contented to enjoy the *incarico*, which includes in it, beſides the correſpondence, a table maintained at the expence of the King of Spain. The Chevalier de la Luzerne, though very well, and agreeably lodged, had no apartments to

ſpare;* he made them, however, contrive me one the next day, which contributed greatly to my happineſs during my ſtay at Philadelphia, for I was ſituated exactly between M. de Marbois, and him, and able to

* The French Ambaſſador's was a very handſome houſe, hired of Mr. John Dickinſon, and very near the ſeat of Congreſs. In one of thoſe dreadful ſtorms of thunder with which America is ſo frequently viſited in the ſummer months, this houſe, though lower than the State-houſe, and that of his neighbour, Mrs. Allen, was ſtruck by lightning, and a French officer, ſitting alone in one of the rooms, burnt to death; the lightning had ſet fire to his cloaths, and thrown him into a fainting fit, during which, part of his body was miſerably ſcorched, and his private parts reduced to aſhes, ſo that he ſurvived but a few hours; but the principal ravage was in a chamber containing an *iron bedſtead*, in which the Ambaſſador himſelf ſlept, by way of ſecurity from the bugs; in that room, large blocks of marble were rent in pieces, and torn from the chimney piece, its effects, in ſhort, were ſo ſingular in many reſpects, and in ſome ſo contrary to received opinions, that Mr. *Arthur Lee*, and *Dr. Ruſh*, thought proper to publiſh a very long and curious account of it; and indeed, as far as I am able to judge, this ſtroke preſented many new phœnomena of electricity. It may be proper to add, that this was the only houſe in the neighbourhood *unprovided with an electrical apparatus.* TRANSLATOR.

to converſe with them every moment of the day.

That of the 22d commenced, like every other day in America, by a great breakfaſt. As the dinners are very late at the Miniſter's, a few loins of veal, ſome legs of mutton, and other *trifles* of that kind are always introduced among the tea-cups, and are ſure of meeting a hearty welcome. After this ſlight repaſt, which only laſted an hour and a half, we went to viſit the ladies, agreeable to the Philadelphia cuſtom, where the morning is the moſt proper hour for paying viſits. We began by Mrs. *Bache*; ſhe merited all the anxiety we had to ſee her, for ſhe is the daughter of Mr. *Franklin*. Simple in her manners, like her reſpectable father, ſhe poſſeſſes his benevolence. She conducted us into a room filled with work, lately finiſhed by the ladies of Philadelphia. This work conſiſted neither of embroidered tambour waiſtcoats, nor net work edging, nor of gold and ſilver brocade—it was a quantity of ſhirts for the ſoldiers of Penſylvania. The ladies bought the linen from their own private purſes, and took a plea-

ſure in cutting them out, and ſewing them themſelves. On each ſhirt was the name of the married, or unmarried lady who made it, and they amounted to 2200. Here is the place, no doubt, to make a very *moral*, but very *trivial* reflection on the difference between our manners and thoſe of America; but as for myſelf, I am of opinion that, on a ſimilar occaſion, our French women would do as much, and I even venture to believe that ſuch works would inſpire as agreeable verſes as thoſe which accompany the annual preſents of cradles, coaches, houſes, caſtles, &c. laboriouſly and aukwardly brocaded. It muſt be allowed that this cuſtom is an abundant ſource of moſt ingenious ideas; but their harveſt is paſt, and they begin to be exhauſted. But ſhould any rigid French philoſopher be diſpoſed to cenſure French manners, I would not adviſe him to addreſs himſelf to Mrs. P——, whom I waited upon on quitting Mrs. Bache. This is *the* agreeable woman of Philadelphia; her taſte is as delicate as her health: an enthuſiaſt to exceſs for all the French faſhions, ſhe only

waits

waits for the termination of this little revolution, to effect a ſtill greater one in the manners of her country.

After paying due homage to this admirable female patriot, I hurried to make acquaintance with Mr. *Morris*. He is a very rich merchant, and conſequently a man of every country, for commerce bears every where the ſame character. Under monarchies it is free; it is an egotiſt in republics; a ſtranger, or if you will, a citizen of the univerſe, it excludes alike the virtues and the prejudices that ſtand in the way of its intereſt. It is ſcarcely to be credited, that amidſt the diſaſters of America, Mr. Morris, the inhabitant of a town juſt emancipated from the hands of the Engliſh, ſhould poſſeſs a fortune of eight millions, (between 3 and 400,000l. ſterling) It is, however, in the moſt critical times that great fortunes are acquired. The fortunate return of ſeveral ſhips, the ſtill more ſucceſsful cruizes of his privateers, have encreaſed his riches beyond his expectations, if not beyond his wiſhes. He is, in fact, ſo accuſtomed to the ſucceſs of

his privateers, that when he is obſerved on a Sunday to be more ſerious than uſual, the concluſion is, that no prize has arrived in the preceding week.* This flouriſhing ſtate

* Mr. Morris has certainly enriched himſelf greatly by the war, but the houſe of *Willing and Morris* did a great deal of buſineſs, and was well known in all the conſiderable trading towns of Europe, previous to that period. Mr. Morris had various other means of acquiring wealth beſides privateering; amongſt others, by his own intereſt, and his connections with Mr. *Holker*, then Conſul-General of France at Philadelphia, he frequently obtained excluſive permiſſions to ſhip cargoes of flour, &c. in the time of general embargoes, by which he gained immenſe profits. His ſituation gave him many ſimilar opportunities, of which his capital, his credit, and abilities always enabled him to take advantage.—On the ſtrength of his office, as Financier-General, he circulated *his own notes of Robert Morris*, as caſh, throughout the continent, and even had the addreſs to get ſome aſſemblies, that of Virginia in particular, to paſs acts to make them current in payment of taxes. What purchaſes of tobacco, what profits of every kind might not a man of Mr. Morris's abilities make with ſuch powerful advantages? The houſe the Marquis ſpeaks of, in which Mr. Morris lives, belonged formerly to Mr. *Richard Penn*; the Financier has made great additions to it, and is the firſt who has in-

ſtate of commerce, at Philadelphia, as well as in Maſſachuſſets bay, is entirely owing to the arrival of the French ſquadron.† The

troduced the luxury of hot-houſes, and ice-houſes on the continent. He has likewiſe purchaſed the elegant country houſe formerly occupied by the traitor, Arnold, nor is his luxury to be outdone by any commercial voluptuary of London. This gentleman is a native of Mancheſter in England, is at the head of the ariſtocratical party in Penſylvania, and has eventually been inſtrumental in the revolution; in private life he is much eſteemed, by a very numerous acquaintance.

TRANSLATOR.

† Very large fortunes where made from nothing during this period, but this ſtate of proſperity was not of long duration; in 1781 and 1782, ſo numerous were the King's cruizers, and privateers, that frequently not one veſſel out of ſeven that left the Delaware eſcaped their vigilance. The profits on ſucceſsful voyages were enormous, but it was no uncommon thing to ſee a man one day worth forty or fifty thouſand pounds, and the next reduced to nothing; indeed theſe rapid tranſitions were ſo frequent, that they almoſt ceaſed to affect either the comfort or the credit of the individual.——Flour ſhipped on board at Philadelphia, coſt *five* dollars, and produced from twenty-eight to thirty four dollars a barrel in *ſpecie* at the Havannah, which is generally but a ſhort run, and the arrival of one

The Engliſh have abandoned all their cruizes, to block it up at Newport, and in that they have ſucceeded ill, for they have not taken a ſingle ſloop coming to Rhode Iſland, or Providence. Mr. Morris is a large man, very ſimple in his manners; but his mind is ſubtle and acute, his head perfectly well organized, and he is as well verſed in public affairs as in his own. He was a member of Congreſs in 1776, and ought to be reckoned among thoſe perſonages who have had the greateſt influence in the revolution of America. He is the friend of Dr. Franklin, and the decided enemy of Mr. Read. His houſe is handſome, reſembling perfectly the houſes

European cargo, out of three, amply repaid the merchant, ſo that notwithſtanding the numerous captures, the ſtocks were continually full of new veſſels to ſupply ſuch as were loſt or taken. In ſhort, without having been upon the ſpot at that period, it is impoſſible to conceive the activity and perſeverance of the Americans. There was ſcarcely a captain, or even common ſailor, who had not been taken ſix or ſeven times during the war, nor a merchant who had been, more than once, rich and ruined. TRANSLATOR.

houſes in London; he lives there without oſtentation, but not without expence, for he ſpares nothing which can contribute to his happineſs, and that of Mrs. Morris, to whom he is much attached. A zealous republican, and an Epicuerean philoſopher, he has always played a diſtinguſhed part at table and in buſineſs.* I have already mentioned Mr. Powel, at preſent I muſt ſpeak of his wife; and indeed it would be difficult to ſeparate from each other, two perſons, who for twenty years have lived together in the ſtricteſt union: I ſhall not ſay as man and wife, which would not convey the idea of perfect equality in America, but as two friends, happily matched in point of underſtanding, taſte, and information.

* Mr. Morris has ſince filled for three years the poſt of Financier, or Comptroller-General, which was created for him. He had for his colleague Mr. *Governor Morris*, whom I have already mentioned, and who has amply juſtified the opinion entertained of his talents. It may ſafely be aſſerted, that Europe affords few examples of a perſpicuity, and a facility of underſtanding equal to his, which adapts itſelf with the ſame ſucceſs to buſineſs, to letters, and to ſciences.

formation. Mr. Powel, as I have before ſaid, has travelled in Europe, and returned with a taſte for the fine arts; his houſe is adorned with the moſt valuable prints, and good copies of ſeveral of the Italian maſters. Mrs. Powel has not travelled, but ſhe has read a great deal, and profitably: it would be unjuſt perhaps, to ſay, that in this ſhe differs from the greateſt part of the American ladies; but what diſtinguiſhes her the moſt is, her taſte for converſation, and the truly European uſe ſhe knows how to make of her underſtanding and information.

I fear my readers (if ever I have any) may make this natural reflection, that viſits are very tireſome pieces of buſineſs every where, and as it is impoſſible to eſcape the epigrammatic turn of the French, without making great haſte, I am determined to get the ſtart. I apprize them however, that I acquit them of a long dinner, which the Chevalier de la Luzerne gave that day to the ſouthern Delegates. I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak elſewhere of ſome of theſe Delegates, and as for thoſe who will not

not give me that opportunity, they deſerve to be paſſed over in ſilence.

Fearful leſt the pleaſures of Capua ſhould make me forget the campaigns of *Hannibal*, and of *Fabius*, I determined to get on horſeback; on the ſecond of December, to viſit the field of battle of *German-Town*. Many recollect, that after the defeat of Brandywine, in 1777, the American army, not thinking proper to defend Philadelphia, retired to the upper *Schuylkill*, whilſt the Engliſh took poſſeſſion, without reſiſtance, of the capital of Penſylvania. Elated with their ſucceſs, and full of that confidence which has invariably deceived them, they had divided and diſperſed their forces: the greateſt part of their troops encamped upon the Schuylkill, four miles from Philadelphia; another diviſion occupied German-Town, eight miles to the northward of that place, and they ſent a conſiderable detachment to *Billingsport*, to favour the paſſage of their fleet, which was making fruitleſs endeavours to get up the Delaware. Thus circumſtanced, General Waſhington thought it was time to remind

mind the Engliſh, that there ſtill exiſted an American army. One is at a loſs whether moſt to extol the ſage intrepidity of the chief, or the reſolution diſplayed by his army in making an attack on the ſame troops, whoſe ſhock they were unable to ſuſtain a month before. German-Town is a long town, or village, conſiſting of a ſingle ſtreet, not unlike *La Villitre*, or *Vauginard*, near Paris. From the firſt houſe, at the ſouth, to the laſt, at the north end of the town, it is near two miles and a half. The Engliſh corps which occupied, or rather covered it, was encamped near the laſt houſes to the northward, and ſo ſituated as that the ſtreet, or main road interſected the camp at right angles. This body might amount to three or four thouſand men. General Waſhington, who occupied a poſition at ten miles diſtance,* on

* There are many ſtriking differences between this account, and that given by General Howe in his public diſpatches, in his own narrative to the houſe of commons, and in the examination of his witneſſes.——The Engliſh General reports, that Waſhington's camp near Skippack Creek, from

on *Skippack Creek*, left his camp towards midnight, marching in two columns, one of which was to turn German-Town on the eaſtward, the other on the left; two brigades of the right column were ordered to form the corps de reſerve, to ſeparate themſelves, from that column, at the inſtant

whence he moved, was *ſixteen* miles from German-Town—The Marquis ſays, only *ten*. The Engliſh General ſtrongly aſſerts, that this affair was no ſurprize, (ſee his *narrative*, and his examination of *Sir George Oſborne*) the Marquis ſeems to be well authorized to call it a *complete ſurprize*. The General affirms he was prepared for it.——The Marquis *proves*, nay, the Engliſh General's letters and narrative demonſtrate how narrowly, and by what means his army, and the Britiſh affairs eſcaped total ruin. The General ſays, "The enemy retired near twenty miles to Perkyoming Creek, and are now encamped near Shippack Creek, about *eighteen* miles diſtance from hence." The Marquis aſſerts, that "The retreat was executed in good order, that General Waſhington took an excellent poſition within *four* miles of German-Town, ſo that on the evening of the battle he was ſix miles nearer the enemy than before." How ſhall we reconcile theſe eſſential contradictions, which ought unqueſtionably to be diſcuſſed, for the intereſt of truth, and the benefit of hiſtory? TRANSLATOR.

ſtant of the attack, and follow the main ſtreet of German-Town. A very thick fog came on, favourable to the march of the enemy, but which rendered the attack more difficult, as it became impoſſible to concert the movements, and extend the troops. The militia marched on the right and left, without the two columns, not being committed in the affair, and always ſkirting the woods, on the Frankfort ſide, as well as on that of the Schuylkill. General Waſhington halted a moment before daylight, at a croſs road, diſtant only half a mile from the picket, or advanced poſt of the enemy. Theſe he learnt from an Engliſh dragoon, who was intoxicated, and had loſt his way, that the Billingſport detachment was returned. This unexpected intelligence did not change the General's project; he continued his march at the head of the right column, and fell upon the Engliſh picket who were ſurprized, put to rout, and driven to the camp, where they brought the firſt news of the arrival of the Americans. The troops flew to arms, and precipitately fell back, leaving their

their tents ſtanding, and abandoning all their baggage. This was a moment not to be loſt, and French troops would certainly have availed themſelves of it, nay it would have been difficult to prevent them either from purſuing the enemy too far, or from diſperſing to plunder the camp. It is here we may form a judgment of the American character. Perhaps this army, notwithſtanding the ſlowneſs of its manœuvres, and its inexperience in war, may merit the praiſes of Europeans. General Sullivan who commanded the column on the right, calmly and ſlowly formed the three brigades a head; and after ranging them in order of battle, he traverſed the Engliſh camp, without a ſingle ſoldier ſtopping for plunder: he advanced in this manner, leaving the houſes on the left, and driving before him all reſiſtance from the gardens and incloſures; he penetrated into the town itſelf, and was ſome time engaged with the troops who defended a ſmall ſquare near the market.

Whilſt every thing thus ſucceeded on the right, General Waſhington, at the head

of the reſerve, was expecting to ſee his left column arrive, and purſued his march by the main ſtreet. But a fire of muſquetry, which proceeded from a large houſe within piſtol ſhot of the ſtreet, ſuddenly checked the van of his troops. It was reſolved to attack this houſe; but cannon were neceſſary, for it was known to be of ſtone, and could not therefore be ſet fire to. Unfortunately they had only ſix pounders: the Chevalier Dupleſſiis-Mauduit, brought two pieces near another houſe, two hundred paces from the former. This cannonade produced no effect, it penetrated the walls, but did not beat them down. The Chevalier de Mauduit, full of that ardour, which at the age of ſixteen, made him undertake a journey into Greece, to view the fields of *Platea* and *Thermopylæ*, and at twenty go in ſearch of laurels in America, reſolved to attack by main force this houſe, which he was unable to reduce by cannon.* He propoſed to

* In 1782 I viſited and paſſed a very agreeable day at this celebrated Stone-houſe, ſo bravely, and judiciouſly defended by *Colonel Muſgrove*, and ſaw many marks of cannon and muſquet ſhot in the

to Colonel Laurens to take with him ſome determined men, and get ſome ſtraw and hay from a barn, to ſet fire to the principal door. One may conceive ſuch an idea preſenting itſelf to two ſpirited young men; but it is ſcarcely credible, that of theſe two

 noble

walls, doors, and window ſhutters, beſides two or three mutilated ſtatues which ſtood in front of it. It is a plain gentleman's country-houſe, with four windows in front, and two ſtories high, calculated for a ſmall family, and ſtands ſingle, and detached from every other building, ſo that defended as it was by ſix companies, commanded by ſo gallant an officer, it was calculated to make a long reſiſtance againſt every thing but heavy cannon. I here ſaw, what to me was perfectly new, but in this perhaps I betray my ignorance; a cock, though ſurrounded by hens, in frequent copulation with a duck. Being in company with ladies, I had no opportunity of enquiring whether there was any, and what ſort of produce. From the different ſize of their bodies, the difference of their organization, and the mode of union, I could not help conſidering it as not much leſs extraordinary than the Bruſſels fable of the Hen and Rabbit; but in this, perhaps every peaſant can ſet me right. This houſe formerly belonged to Mr. Chew, a loyaliſt, and was purchaſed by Mr. *Blair Mac Clenaghan*; who, from a very ſmall beginning, has, by his induſtry, fairly and honourably acquired a very conſiderable fortune. TRANSLATOR.

noble adventurous youths, one ſhould be at preſent on his way to France, and the other in good health at Newport.* M. de Mauduit making no doubt that they were following him with all the ſtraw in the barn, went ſtraight to a window on the ground floor, which he forced, and on which he mounted. He was received, in truth, like the lover who mounting a ladder to ſee his miſtreſs found the huſband waiting for him on the balcony: I do not know whether, like him too, on being aſked what he was doing there, he anſwered, *I am only taking a walk*; but this I know, that whilſt a gallant man, piſtol in hand, deſired him to ſurrender, another leſs polite entering briſkly into the chamber, fired a muſquet ſhot, which killed, not M. de Mauduit, but the officer who wiſhed to take him. After theſe ſlight miſtakes, and this little quarrel, the difficulty was for him to retire. On one hand he muſt be expoſed to a ſmart

* Mr. Laurens has ſince fallen a victim to his too inconſiderate valour: he was killed in Carolina, in a ſkirmiſh of little importance, a ſhort time before the ſigning of the peace.

a ſmart fire from the firſt and ſecond floor; on the other, a part of the American army were ſpectators, and it would have been ridiculous to return running Mr. de Mauduit, like a true Frenchman, choſe rather to expoſe himſelf to death than ridicule; but the balls reſpected our prejudices; he returned ſafe and ſound, and Mr. Laurens, who was in no greater haſte than he, eſcaped with a ſlight wound in his ſhoulder. I muſt not here omit a circumſtance which proves the precarious tenure of a military exiſtence. General Waſhington thought that on ſummoning the commander of this poſt, he would readily ſurrender: it was propoſed to M. de Mauduit to take a drum with him, and make this propoſal; but on his obſerving that he ſpoke bad Engliſh, and might not, perhaps, be underſtood, an American officer was ſent, who being preceded by a drum, and diſplaying a white handkerchief, it was imagined, would not incur the ſmalleſt riſque; but the Engliſh anſwered this officer only by muſquet ſhot, and killed him on the ſpot.

By

By this time the enemy began to rally; the Engliſh army had marched from their camp near Schuylkill to ſuccour German-Town, and Cornwallis was coming with all expedition from Philadelphia, with the grenadiers and chaſſeurs, whilſt the corps de reſerve of the American army were loſing their time at the Stone-houſe, and the left column was ſcarcely ready for the attack. The conteſt was now become too unequal, and it became neceſſary to think of a retreat, which was executed in good order, and General Waſhington took an excellent poſition four miles from German-Town; ſo that on the evening of the battle, he was ſix miles nearer the enemy than before. The capacity he had juſt diſplayed on this occaſion, the confidence he had inſpired into an army they thought diſheartened, and which, like the Hydra of the fable, re-appeared with a more threatening head, aſtoniſhed the Engliſh, and kept them in awe, till the defeat of Burgoyne changed the aſpect of affairs. This is the moſt favourable light in which we can view this day, unfortunately too bloody for any advantages derived from

from it. Military men who ſhall view the ground, or have before them an accurate plan, will, I imagine, be of opinion, that the extenſiveneſs of the object occaſioned the failure of this enterprize. The project of firſt beating the advanced corps, then the army, and afterwards of becoming maſters of Philadelphia was abſolutely chimerical: for the village of German-Town being upwards of two miles in length, preſented too many obſtacles, for the aſſailants, and too many points of rallying for the Engliſh; beſides that it is not in interſected countries, and without cavalry, that great battles are gained, which deſtroy or diſperſe armies. Had general Waſhington contented himſelf with proceeding to Whitemarſh, and covering his march with a large body of troops, which might have advanced to German-Town, he would have ſurprized the Engliſh van-guard, and forced them to retire with loſs; and if ſatisfied with this ſort of leſſon given to a victorious army, he had fallen back on the new poſition he wiſhed to occupy, he would have compleately fulfilled his object, and the whole honour of

the day been his. But, ſuppoſing the project of attack to be, ſuch as was adopted, it appears to me that two faults, rather excuſable 'tis true, were committed; one, the loſing time in ranging in line of battle General Sullivan's column, inſtead of marching directly to the camp of the enemy; the other, the amuſing themſelves in attacking the Stone-houſe. The firſt fault will appear very pardonable to thoſe who have ſeen the American troops ſuch as they then were; they had no inſtruction, and were ſo ill-diſciplined, that they could neither preſerve good order in marching in a column, nor ſpread themſelves when it became neceſſary; for experience, which is always differing with *M. de Menil Durand*, teaches us, that profound order is the moſt ſubject to diſorder and confuſion, and which conſequently demands the moſt phlegm and diſcipline. The ſecond error may be juſtified by the hope they always had of getting poſſeſſion of the Stone-houſe, the importance of which was meaſured by the obſtinacy of the enemy in defending it. It is certain, that two better meaſures might have

have been adopted: the firſt to purſue their march without regarding the fire of muſquetry, which could always have been ſufficiently ſlackened by detaching a few men to fire at the windows; and the ſecond, that of leaving the village on the left, to enter it again three hundred paces further on, where it would then have been ſufficient to take poſſeſſion of another houſe oppoſite to thoſe occupied by the enemy; though this houſe be not quite ſo high as the former, the fire from it would have checked the Engliſh, and ſecured a retreat in caſe of neceſſity. *

In allowing myſelf this ſort of cenſure, I feel how much I ought to miſtruſt my own judgment, eſpecially as I was not preſent at the action; but I made the ſame obſervations to M. Laurens, M. de Mauduit, and M. de Gimat, who ſeemed to be unable to refute them. We have ſeen the ſhare the two former

* Poſſibly the Marquis does not know that there were *ſix companies* of the 40th regiment in this houſe; no deſpicable enemy to leave in the rear of ſuch an army as General Waſhington's was compoſed of.

TRANSLATOR.

mer had in the engagement; the third has ſeveral times viewed the field of battle with General Waſhington, who explained to him the motions of the two armies, and nobody is better calculated to hear well, and to give a good account of what he has heard.

After ſufficiently examining the poſition of German-Town, I returned to Philadelphia by the ſhorteſt road, and quicker than I came, for the cold was very piercing, and I had only time to dreſs myſelf to accompany the Chevalier de la Luzerne to dine with the Northern Delegates. It muſt be underſtood, that the Delegates, or if you will, the Members of Congreſs, have a tavern to themſelves, where they give frequent entertainments; but that the company may not be too numerous at a time, they divide themſelves into two ſets, and as we ſee, very geographically; the line of demarkation being from eaſt to weſt. * The dinner was

* There is a great probability of ſeeing this line of demarkation more diſtinctly marked, by a ſeparation of the fœderal union into *two parts*, at no very diſtant day; but not on hoſtile, or unfriendly terms. This was matter of frequent diſcuſſion during my

was plain and good, and our reception polite and cordial, but not ceremonious. Two Delegates, placed at each end, did the honours of the table. Mr. *Duane*, Deputy from the State of New York, occupied the ſide I was on. He is of a gay and open character, has no objection to talk, and drinks without repugnance. I converſed ſome time, but leſs than I could have wiſhed

ſtay at Philadelphia, and ſeemed to be an opinion which was daily gaining ground. Indeed it ſeems to be a meaſure which ſooner or later muſt take place, from the obvious difficulties attending the management, and operations of a confederacy extending from Florida to Nova Scotia, a country, every day increaſing in population, and branching out into *new ſtates*. Such a diviſion muſt, in my opinion, give new force and energy to each part of it, and produce more union and activity in their councils: nor do I ſee any bad conſequences ariſing from ſuch an amicable ſeparation, except in the caſe of a war exactly ſimilar to the laſt, a caſe which I believe every man will agree is ſcarcely within the line of poſſibility. *Local* obſtacles to a long continuance of the preſent ſtate of things, muſt alone infallibly produce it. They who are acquainted with America will add many reaſons, which it is unneceſſary for me to enumerate. TRANSLATOR.

wiſhed with Mr. *Charles Thompſon*,* Secretary of Congreſs. He paſſes, with reaſon, for one of the beſt informed men in the country, and though he be a man of the cabinet, and mixing little with ſociety, his manners are polite and amiable. Mr. *Samuel Adams*, Deputy for Maſſachuſſets Bay, was not at this dinner, but on riſing from table I went to ſee him. When I entered his room, I found him *tête-à-tête* with a young girl of fifteen who was preparing his tea, but we ſhall not be ſcandalized at this, on conſidering that he is at leaſt ſixty. Every body in Europe knows that he was one of the prime movers of the preſent revolution. I experienced in his company the ſatisfaction one rarely has in the world, nay even on the theatre, of finding the perſon of the actor correſponding with the character he performs. In him, I ſaw a man wrapt up in his object, who never ſpoke but to give a good opinion of his cauſe, and a high idea of his country. His ſimple

* Mr. Thompſon is an Iriſhman, his nephew, Mr. *Sinclair*, is a barriſter at York in England.

TRANSLATOR.

ſimple and frugal exterior, ſeemed intended as a contraſt with the energy and extent of his ideas, which were wholly turned towards the republic, and loſt nothing of their warmth by being expreſſed with method and preciſion; as an army, marching towards the enemy, has not a leſs determined air for obſerving the laws of tactics. Amongſt many facts he cited in honour of his country, I ſhall relate one which merits to be tranſmitted to poſterity. Two young ſoldiers had deſerted from the army, and returned to their father's houſe. Their father, incenſed at this action, loaded them with irons, and conducted them himſelf to their General, Lord Stirling. He did what every other officer would have done, in his place, he pardoned them. The father, as patriotic, but leſs auſtere than a Roman, was happy to preſerve his children; nevertheleſs he ſeemed aſtoniſhed, and approaching the General, my Lord, ſays he, with tears in his eyes, *'Tis more than I hoped for.*—I quitted Mr. Adams with regret, but with a full intention of ſeeing him again, and my evening terminated by a viſit

to

to Colonel *Bland*, one of the Delegates for Carolina. He is a tall handſome man, who has been in the Weſt-Indies, where he acquired French. He is ſaid to be a good ſoldier, but at preſent ſerves his country, and ſerves it well in Congreſs. The Southern Delegates, in fact, have great credit, they are inceſſantly labouring to draw the attention of the Government towards them, and to avert every idea of purchaſing peace on their account.

The weather was ſo bad the third that it was impoſſible to ſtir out. I had no reaſon to complain however of the employment of this day, which I paſſed either in converſation with M. de la Luzerne, and M. de Marbois, or in reading ſuch intereſting papers as they were pleaſed to communicate. Mr. Huntington having informed me, that the next day he would ſhew me the hall in which the Congreſs aſſembles, I went there at ten o'clock, and found him waiting for me accompanied by ſeveral Delegates. This hall is ſpacious, without magnificence; its handſomeſt ornament is the portrait of General Waſhington, larger than life: He

is

is repreſented on foot, in that noble and eaſy attitude which is natural to him; cannon, colours, and all the attributes of war form the acceſſories of the picture. I was then conducted into the Secretary's hall, which has nothing remarkable but the manner in which it is furniſhed; the colours taken from the enemy ſerve by way of tapeſtry. From thence you paſs to the library, which is pretty large, but far from being filled; the few books it is compoſed of, appear to be well choſen. It is in the town-houſe that Congreſs hold their meetings: this building is rather handſome; the ſtaircaſe in particular is wide and noble: as to external ornaments, they conſiſt only in the decoration of the gate, and in ſeveral tablets of marble placed above the windows. I remarked a peculiarity in the roof, which appeared new to me: the chimneys are bound to the two extremities of the building, which is a long ſquare, and are ſo conſtructed, as to be faſtened together in the form of an arch, thus forming a ſort of portico.

After

After taking leave of the Preſident and Delegates, I returned to the Chevalier de la Luzerne's, and as the ſtreets were covered with ice, I ſtaid at home, where I received a viſit from Mr. *Wilſon*, * a celebrated lawyer and author of ſeveral pamphlets on the preſent affairs. He has in his library all our beſt authors on public law and juriſprudence; the works of Preſident Monteſquieu, and of the Chancellor d'Aqueſſau, hold the firſt rank among them, and he makes them his daily ſtudy. After dinner, which was private and *a la Francoiſe*, I went to ſee Mrs. *Bingham*, a young and handſome woman, only ſeventeen: her huſband, who was there, according to the American cuſtom, is only five and twenty :† he

* Mr. Wilſon is a Scotchman, and is making a fortune rapidly in the profeſſion of the law at Philadelphia. He is about four and forty, a man of real abilities, and Mr. Morris's intimate friend and coadjutor in his ariſtocratic plans. TRANSLATOR.

† Mr. Bingham, even at this age, returned from Martinico with a very handſome fortune. In the year 1782, he gained a very conſiderable ſum by opening policies on the capture of the Count de

he was Agent of Congreſs at Martinico, from whence he is returned with a tolerable knowledge of French, and with much

de Graſſe in the Ville de Paris; an event, of which there is little doubt he had ſecret and ſure intelligence from his connection with the iſlands. They firſt opened at 10, and afterwards were done at 25 and 30 per cent. Very large ſums were underwritten, chiefly by the *whigs*, who were unwilling, and could not be brought to credit this piece of news. Circumſtances were peculiarly favourable to this ſpeculation, for, notwithſtanding the great intercourſe between the Weſt-Indies and the Continent, only *two* accounts of this affair arrived for ſix weeks after the engagement; the event of which was ſooner known, with certainty, in England. The one was in Rivington's New York paper, copied from the Antigua Gazette, and lamely given; beſides, that his paper was deſervedly in univerſal diſcredit: the other was brought to Philadelphia by the *Holker* privateer, Captain Keane, who ſaw part of the engagement, but whoſe account contradicted the principal facts in Rivington's. The two fleets having gone to leeward after the battle, no freſh intelligence was received from the *leeward*, or more properly ſpeaking here, in the *windward* iſlands, ſo that this gambling was carried to ſo high a pitch, as to induce the French Ambaſſador to go in perſon to the coffee-houſe to communicate a letter he had received from Martinique, ſubſequent to the battle; from which

attachment to the Marquis de Bouillé. I paſſed the remainder of the evening with Mrs. Powell, where I expected to have an agreeable converſation; in which I was not deceived, and forgot myſelf there 'till pretty late.

I went again to the Town-Houſe, on the 5th, but it was to be preſent at the Aſſembly of the State of Penſylvania; for the hall, where this ſort of parliament meets, is under the ſame roof with the Congreſs. I was with M. de la Fayette, the Vicomte de Noailles, the Comte de Damas, M. de Gimat, and all the French, or *Gallo-Americans*,

fair concluſions might be drawn *againſt* the capture; but this, inſtead of putting a ſtop to the gambling, by encouraging the whigs, increaſed it:—Mr. Bingham and his friends in the ſecret, indulged them to the utmoſt extent of their enthuſiaſm; and if the policies were all paid, a matter which began to be a ſubject of diſcuſſion when I left Philadelphia, muſt have gained *prodigious ſums*, for no leſs than from £. 80,000 to £. 100,000 ſterling were calculated to have been written. It is a ſingular circumſtance, that the firſt *authentic* account of this great battle, which appeared in America, was copied from the *London Gazette*. Whereas we had at Boſton the account of the loſs of the *Royal George*, at Spithead, the 16*th day* after the accident, by way of Newfoundland.

TRANSLATOR

ricans, at Philadelphia. We ſeated ourſelves on a bench oppoſite the Speaker's chair: on his right was the Preſident of the State, the Clerks were placed at a long table before the Speaker. The debates turned on ſome miſconduct, imputed to the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury. The executive council were ſent for and heard. General Mifflin was almoſt the only ſpeaker; he delivered himſelf with grace and ſpirit, but with a marked intention of oppoſing the Preſident of the State, who is not one of his friends. His manner of expreſſing himſelf, his geſtures, his deportment, the air and eaſe of ſuperiority he invariably aſſumed, perfectly reminded me of thoſe members of the Houſe of Commons who are accuſtomed to give the tone to others, and to make every thing bend to their opinion. The affair not being terminated in the morning, the Speaker left the chair; the houſe went into a committee, and adjourned.

The morning was not far ſpent, and I had enough to employ it; I was expected in three places; by a lover of natural

hiſtory, by an anatomiſt, and at the college, or rather univerſity of Philadelphia. I began by the cabinet of natural hiſtory. This ſmall and ſcanty collection, is greatly celebrated in America, where it is unrivalled; it was formed by a painter of Geneva, called *Cimetiere*, a name better ſuited to a phyſician, than a painter. This worthy man came to Philadelphia twenty years ago, to take portraits, and has continued there ever ſince; he lives there ſtill as a batchelor, and a foreigner, a very uncommon inſtance in America, where men do not long remain without acquiring the titles of huſband and citizen. What I ſaw moſt curious, in this cabinet, was a large quantity of the *vice*, or ſcrew, a ſort of ſhell pretty common, within which a very hard ſtone, like *jade*,* is exactly moulded. It appears clear to me, that theſe petrefactions are formed by the ſucceſſive accumulation of lapidific molecules conveyed by the waters, and aſſimilated by the aſſiſtance of fixed air.

* See Chambers's *Encyclopedia*—a green ſort of precious ſtone, called in France *la pierre divine*, from its ſuppoſed myſtic qualities.

air. After fatiguing my legs, and ſatisfying my eyes, which is always the caſe in cabinets of natural hiſtory, I thought proper to quit the earth for heaven; or, in the vulgar ſtyle, I went to the library of the univerſity, to ſee a very ingenious machine (an Orrery) repreſenting all the celeſtial motions. I loſe no time in declaring that I ſhall not give a deſcription of it: for nothing is ſo tireſome as the deſcription of any machine; it is enough for me to ſay, that one part of it gives a perfect view, on the vertical point, of all the motions of the planets in their orbits; and that the other, which is deſigned only to repreſent that of the moon, diſplays, in the cleareſt manner, her phaſes, her nodes, and her different altitudes. The Preſident of the college,* and Mr. *Rittenhouſe*, the in-

 ventor

* The Preſident is Dr. *Ewing*. I had the gratification of being preſent at a public exhibition at the college, at which the Congreſs, the Preſident and executive council of the ſtate, General Waſhington, the French Miniſter, and all the ſtrangers of diſtinction, &c. aſſiſted. Some excellent declamations were made in Latin, and in Engliſh, by the young men who were about to leave college, and obtain

ventor and maker of this machine, took the pains of explaining to me every particular:

degrees; by no means inferior to thoſe I have heard at Oxford and Cambridge. Their compoſitions in general were elegant, and their elocution eaſy, dignified and manly, but whatever was the ſubject, the great cauſe of liberty and their country never was loſt ſight of, nor their abhorrence of the tyranny of Britain. This language in the mouths of ſome of theſe young men, who were the ſons of *tories*, illuſtrated the remark of the ſhrewd and ſenſible *author of Common Senſe*, that whilſt the war was depending, the old prejudiced friends of Britain were dropping off, and the riſing generation, in the courſe of ſeven years, knew nothing of that country but as an enemy, nor ſaw, or heard of any thing but her cruelties and devaſtation. To them the independence of America appeared as much the natural and eſtabliſhed government of the country, as that of England does to an Engliſhman. "Time and Death, ſays he, hard "enemies to contend with; fight conſtantly againſt "the intereſts of Britain; and the bills of mortality, "in every part of America are the thermometers of her "decline. The children in the ſtreets are from their "cradle bred to conſider her as their only foe. They "hear of her cruelties: of their fathers, uncles, and "kindred killed; they ſee the remains of burnt and "deſtroyed houſes, and the common tradition of "the ſchool they go to, tells them *thoſe things were* "*done by the Britiſh*."

cular: they ſeemed very happy that I knew Engliſh, and aſtronomy enough to underſtand them; on which I muſt obſerve, that the latter article is more to the ſhame of the Americans than to my praiſe; the almanack being almoſt the only book of Aſtronomy ſtudied at Philadelphia. Mr. Rittenhouſe is of a German family, as his name announces; but he is a native of Philadelphia, and a watch maker by profeſſion. He is a man of great ſimplicity and modeſty, and though not a mathematician of the claſs of the Eulers, and the D'Alemberts, knows enough of that ſcience to be perfectly acquainted with the motions of the heavenly bodies. As for his mechanical talents, it is unneceſſary to aſſign a reaſon for them; we know that of all others, they are leſs the reſult of ſtudy, and moſt generally the gift of nature; and it is a fact worthy of obſervation, that, notwithſtanding the little connection to be perceived between that particular diſpoſition and the delicacy of our ſenſes, or the perfection of our organs, men are more frequently born mechanics, than painters and muſicians. Edu-

cation, nay, even the rigour of education, frequently makes great artiſts in the two latter; but there is no example of its making a mechancal genius.

This morning ſeemed devoted to the ſciences, and my walks were a ſort of encyclopedia, for, on quitting the univerſity library, I went to call upon a celebrated anatomiſt, called *Dr. Showell.* The following, in a few words, is his hiſtory: he was born in England upwards of ſeventy years ago. After ſtudying medicine and ſurgery there, he went to France to improve himſelf under M. Winſlow. In 1734, he went to the Weſt Indies, where he ſince practiſed medicine, ſometimes at Barbadoes, ſometimes at Jamaica; but is invariably a man of application, and laborious. In the war of 1744, a prize being brought into Barbadoes, with a great deal of wax on board, Mr. Showell took this opportunity to make different anatomical experiments in wax, and he ſucceeded ſo well as to carry this art to the higheſt degree of perfection. On ſeeing him, one can with difficulty conceive how ſo much patience and perſeverance

rance could conſiſt with his natural vivacity; for it ſeems as if the ſun of the tropic had preſerved in him all the heat of youth; he ſpeaks with fire, and expreſſes himſelf as well in French as if he were ſtill in our ſchools of ſurgery. In other reſpects, he is a perfect original: his reigning taſte is diſputation; when the Engliſh were at Philadelphia he was a whig, and has become a tory ſince they left it; he is always ſighing after Europe, without reſolving to return, and declaiming conſtantly againſt the Americans, he ſtill remains amongſt them. His deſign in coming to the continent, was to recover his health, ſo as to enable him to croſs the ſeas: this was about the commencement of the war; and, ſince that time, he imagines he is not at liberty to go, though no body prevents him. He was to me a greater curioſity than his anatomical preparations, which, however, appeared ſuperior to thoſe of Bologna, but inferior to the preparations of Mademoiſelle *Bieron*; the wax having always a certain luſtre which makes them leſs like nature.

At

At the end of this morning's walk I was like a bee, ſo laden with honey that he can hardly regain his hive. I returned to the Chevalier de la Luzerne's, with my memory well ſtored, and after taking food for the body as well as mind, I dedicated my evening to ſociety. I was invited to drink tea at Colonel Bland's, that is to ſay, to attend a ſort of aſſembly pretty much like the *converſazzioni* of Italy; for tea here, is the ſubſtitute for the *rinfreſco*. Mr. *Howley*, Governor of Georgia, Mr. *Izard*, Mr. *Arthur Lee*, (the two laſt lately arrived from Europe) M. de la Fayette, M. de Noailles, M. de Damas, &c. were of the party. The ſcene was decorated by ſeveral married and unmarried ladies, among whom, Miſs *Shippen*, daughter of Dr. Shippen, and couſin of Mrs. *Arnold*, claimed particular diſtinction. Thus we ſee that in America the crimes of individuals are not reflected on their family; not only had Dr. Shippen's brother given his daughter to the traitor Arnold, a ſhort time before his deſertion, but it is generally believed, that being himſelf a tory, he had inſpired his daughter

ter with the ſame ſentiments, and that the charms of this handſome woman contributed not a little to haſten to criminality a mind corrupted by avarice, before it felt the power of love.*

On our return to the Chevalier de la Luzerne's, we aſſembled all the French and Gallo-American military, and laid our plan for a very agreeable jaunt we took next day. The 6th, in the morning, M. de la Fayette, the Vicomte de Noailles, the Comte de Damas, the Chevalier du Pleſſis Mauduit, Meſſieurs de Gimat and De Neville, Aides de Camp of M. de la Fayette, M. de Monteſquieu, Mr. Lynch, and myſelf, ſet out to viſit the field of battle of *Brandywine*, thirty

* Mrs. Arnold is ſaid to be very handſome; but this I know, that her two ſiſters are charming women, and muſt have been very dangerous companions for a wavering mind, in the leaſt ſuſceptible of the moſt powerful of all paſſions. But an apology for Arnold, on this ſuppoſition, is too generous for a mind ſo thoroughly baſe and unprincipled as his. With what delicacy could he beloved a woman by that miſcreant, who made the myſteries of the nuptial bed the ſubject of his coarſe ribaldry to his companions, the day after his marriage! TRANSLATOR.

thirty miles from Philadelphia. M. de la Fayette had not ſeen it, ſince, at the age of twenty, ſeparating from his wife, his friends, the pleaſures of the world, and thoſe of youth, at the diſtance of three thouſand miles, he there ſhed the firſt drop of blood he offered to glory, or rather to that noble cauſe he has invariably ſupported with the ſame zeal, but with better fortune. We paſſed the Schuylkill at the ſame ferry where Mr. Du Coudray was drowned in 1777. We there diſcovered the traces of ſome entrenchments thrown up by the Engliſh, after they became maſters of Philadelphia; then turning to the left, we rode on fourteen miles to the little town of Cheſter. It is built at the junction of the creek of that name, with the Delaware, and is a ſort of port where veſſels coming up the river ſometimes anchor. The houſes, to the number of forty or fifty, are handſome and built of ſtone or brick.* On leaving Cheſter, and on the road to Brandywine, we paſs the ſtone bridge where M. de

* Not far from this town, is found an aſtoniſhing quantity of *aſbeſtos*. TRANSLATOR.

de la Fayette, wounded as he was, ſtopped the fugitives, and made the firſt diſpoſitions for rallying them behind the creek. The country beyond it has nothing particular, but reſembles the reſt of Penſylvania, that is to ſay, is interſperſed with woods and cultivated lands. It was too late when we came within reach of the field of battle, and as we could ſee nothing till next morning, and were too numerous to remain together, it was neceſſary to ſeparate into two diviſions. Meſſieurs de Gimat, De Mauduit, and my two Aides de Camp, ſtaid with me at an inn, three miles on this ſide Brandywine; and M. de la Fayette, attended by the other travellers, went further on to aſk for quarters at a Quaker's, called *Benjamin Ring*, at whoſe houſe he lodged with General Waſhington the night before the battle. I joined him early the next morning, and found him in great friendſhip with his hoſt, who, Quaker as he was, ſeemed delighted to entertain the *Marquis*. We got on horſeback at nine, provided with a plan, executed under the direction of General Howe, and engraved in England; but

we

we got more information from an American Major, with whom M. de la Fayette had appointed a place of meeting. This officer was preſent at the engagement, and his houſe being on the field of battle, he knew it better than any body.

We muſt recollect, that in 1777, the Engliſh having in vain attempted to croſs the Jerſeys to get to Philadelphia by land, were obliged to embark, and doubled the capes to reach the bay of Cheſapeak, and the mouth of the river *Elk*. They arrived there the 25th of Auguſt, after a paſſage dreadful by ſea, but fortunate in the bay, which they remounted with much leſs difficulty than they expected. Whilſt the ſea, the winds, and three hundred veſſels were aſſiſting the manœuvres of the enemy's army, Mr. Waſhington remained ſome days at Middlebrook, in one of the moſt embarraſſing poſitions in which the General of an army can be placed. To the north, the troops of Burgoyne, after taking Ticonderoga, were advancing towards Albany; to the ſouth, an Engliſh army of fifteen thouſand men were embarked, and might either

either proceed to Cheſapeak bay, as they did, penetrate by the Delaware, or go up Hudſon's river as far as Creſt Point, to form a junction with Burgoyne, and cut off the American army, which from that moment would have been for ever ſeparated from the eaſtern and northern ſtates. Of all the chances, *this was certainly the moſt to be dreaded*; accordingly General Waſhington did not abandon his poſition at Middlebrook, till he received certain intelligence that the enemy had doubled *Cape May*. Let us figure to ourſelves the ſituation in which a General muſt find himſelf, when obliged to comprehend in his plan of defence, an immenſe country, and a vaſt extent of coaſt, he is at a loſs to know, within one hundred and fifty miles, where the enemy is likely to appear; and having no longer any intelligence of them, either by patroles, or detachments, or even by couriers, is reduced to the neceſſity of obſerving the compaſs, and of conſulting the winds, before he can form any reſolution. As ſoon as the movement of the enemy was decided, General Waſhington loſt no

time

time in marching his army; I ſhould rather ſay his ſoldiers, for a number of ſoldiers, however conſiderable, does not always form an army. His was compoſed of at moſt 12,000 men. It was at the head of theſe troops, the greateſt part of them new levies, that he traverſed in ſilence the city of Philadelphia, whilſt the Congreſs were giving him orders to fight, yet removing their archives and public papers into the interior parts of the country; a ſiniſter preſage of the ſucceſs which muſt follow their council.

The army paſſed the Schuylkill, and occupied a firſt camp near *Wilmington*, on the banks of the Delaware. This poſition had a double object, for the ſhips of war, after convoying General Howe to the river Elk, had fallen down the bay of the Cheſapeak, remounted the Delaware, and ſeconded by ſome troops landed from the fleet, appeared inclined to force the paſſages of that river. General Waſhington, however, ſoon perceived that the poſition he had taken became every day more dangerous. The Engliſh, having finiſhed their debarkation,

debarkation, were ready to advance into the country; his flank was expoſed, and he left uncovered, at once, Philadelphia and the whole County of Lancaſter. It was determined therefore that the army ſhould repaſs the Creek of Brandywine, and encamp on the left bank of that river. The poſition made choice of, was certainly the beſt that could be taken to diſpute the paſſage. The left was very good, and ſupported by thick woods extending as far as the junction of the creek with the Delaware. As it approaches its conflux, this creek becomes more and more embanked, and difficult to ford: the heights are equal on the two banks; but for this reaſon the advantage was in favour of him who defended the paſſage. A battery of cannon with a good parapet, was pointed towards *Chaddsford*, and every thing appeared in ſafety on that ſide; but to the right the ground was ſo covered, that it was impoſſible to judge of the motions of the enemy, and to keep in a line with them, in caſe they ſhould attempt, as they did, to detach a corps by their left, to paſs the river higher up. The only precaution

that could be taken was to place *five* or *ſix brigades** in ſteps from each other, to watch that manœuvre. General Sullivan had the command of them; he received orders to keep in a line with the enemy, ſhould they march by their left; and on the ſuppoſition that they would unite their forces on the ſide of Chaddsford, he was himſelf to paſs the river, and make a powerful diverſion on their flank.

When a general has foreſeen every thing, when he has made the beſt poſſible diſpoſitions, and his activity, his judgment, and his courage in the action correſpond with the wiſdom of his meaſures, has he not already triumphed in the eyes of every impartial judge? and if by any unforeſeen accidents, the laurels he has merited drop from his hands, is it not the hiſtorian's duty carefully to collect, and replace them on his brow? Let us hope that hiſtory will acquit herſelf of this duty better than us, and let us ſee how ſuch wiſe diſpoſitions were diſconcerted by the miſtakes of ſome officers, and the inexperience of the troops.

The

* General Howe calls them 10,000 men.

TRANSLATOR.

The 11th of September, General Howe occupied the heights on the right of the creek; he there formed part of his troops in line of battle, and prepared ſome batteries oppoſite Chaddsford, whilſt his light troops were attacking and driving before them a corps of riflemen, who had paſſed over to the right bank more cloſely to obſerve his motions. General Waſhington ſeeing the cannonade continue, without any diſpoſition of the enemy to paſs the river, concluded they had another object. He was informed that a great part of their army had marched higher up the creek, and were threatening his right; he felt the importance of keeping an attentive eye on all the movements of this corps; but the country was ſo covered with thickets, that the patroles could diſcover nothing. It muſt be obſerved that General Waſhington had a very ſmall number of horſe, and thoſe he had ſent to the right, towards *Dilworth*, to make diſcoveries on that ſide. He ordered an officer of whom he had a good opinion, to paſs the river, and inform himſelf accurately of the route Lord Corn-

wallis was taking; for it was he who commanded this ſeparate corps. The officer returned, and aſſured him that Cornwallis was marching by his right to join *Knyphauſen*, on the ſide of Chaddsford. According to this report, the attack ſeemed to be determined on the left. Another officer was then ſent, who reported that Cornwallis had changed his direction, and that he was rapidly advancing by the road leading to *Jefferies* Ford, two miles higher than *Birmingham Church*. General Sullivan was immediately ordered to march thither with all the troops of the right. Unfortunately the roads were badly reconnoitred, and not at all open: with great difficulty General Sullivan got through the woods, and when he came out of them to gain a ſmall eminence near Birmingham Church, *he found the Engliſh columns mounting it on the oppoſite ſide.* It was no eaſy matter to range into order of battle ſuch troops as his; he had neither the time to chuſe his poſition, nor to form his line. The Engliſh gained the eminence, drove the Americans back on the woods, to the edge of which they purſued,

ſued them, and they were totally diſperſed.*

During the ſhort time this action laſted, Lord Stirling and General *Conway*, had time to form their brigade on pretty advantageous ground: it was a gentle riſing, partly covered by the woods which bounded it, their left was protected by the ſame woods, and on the right of this riſing ground, but a little in the rear, was the Virginia line, who were ranged in line of battle, on a high ſpot of ground, and on the edge of an open wood. The left-column of the enemy, who had not been engaged with Sullivan, formed rapidly, and marched againſt theſe troops with as much order as vivacity and courage. The Americans made a very ſmart fire, which did not check the Engliſh, and it was not till the

* General Howe's account ſays, "General "Waſhington detached General Sullivan to his "right with 10,000 men, who *took a ſtrong poſition* "on the commanding ground above Birmingham "Church," and then relates the manœuvres to *diſlodge* them. There is a material difference in theſe accounts. TRANSLATOR.

latter were within twenty yards of them, that they gave way, and threw themſelves into the woods. Lord Stirling, M. de la Fayette, and General Sullivan himſelf, after the defeat of his diviſion fought with this body of troops, whoſe poſt was the moſt important, and made the longeſt reſiſtance. It was here that M. de la Fayette was wounded in his left leg, in rallying the troops who were beginning to ſtagger. On the right, the Virginia line made ſome reſiſtance; but the Engliſh had gained a height, from whence their artillery took them *en écharpe*: this fire muſt have been very ſevere, for moſt of the trees, bear the mark of bullets or cannon ſhot. The Virginians in their turn gave way, and the right was then entirely uncovered.

Though this was three miles from Chaddsford, General Knyphauſen heard the firing of the artillery, and muſquetry, and judging that the affair was ſerious, the confidence he had in the Engliſh and Heſſian troops, made him conclude they were victorious. Towards five in the evening, he deſcended from the heights in two

two columns*, one at *John's* Ford, which turned the battery of the Americans, and the other lower down at Chaddsford. The latter marched ſtraight to the battery and took it. General Wayne, whoſe brigade was in line of battle, the left on an eminence, and the right drawing towards the battery, then made that right fall back, and ſtrengthened the heights, thus forming a ſort of change of front. In a country where there are neither open columns, nor ſucceſſive poſitions to take, in caſe of accident, it is difficult to make any diſpoſition for retreat. The different corps who had been beaten, all precipitated themſelves into the Cheſter Road, where they formed but one column; artillery, baggage and troops being confuſedly mixed together. At the beginning of the night General Waſhington alſo took this road, and the Engliſh

* Several perſons, amongſt others ſome Engliſh officers who were priſoners, whom I have queſtioned, aſſured me that Knyphauſen's corps paſſed the river only in one column at Chaddsford; and then ſeparated into two, one of which turned the battery, and the other attacked it in front.

liſh, content with their victory, did not diſturb their retreat.

Such is the idea I have formed of the battle of Brandywine, from what I have heard from General Waſhington himſelf, from M. de la Fayette, Meſſieurs de Gimat, and de Manduit, and from the Generals Wayne and Sullivan. I muſt obſerve, however, that there is a diſagreement in ſome particulars; ſeveral perſons, for example, pretend that Knyphauſen, after paſſing the river, continued his march in one column to the battery, and it is thus marked in the Engliſh plan, which gives a falſe direction to that column; beſides that General Waſhington, and General Wayne aſſured me there were two, and that the left column turned the battery, which otherwiſe would not have been carried.* It is equally difficult to trace out on the plan, all the ground on which Cornwallis fought. The relations on both ſides throw hardly

* Howe's account ſays, there were two diviſions, one under Grant, the other under Knyphauſen, the fourth and fifth regiments turned the battery.

TRANSLATOR.

hardly any light upon it; I was obliged therefore to draw my concluſions from the different narratives, and to follow none of them implicitly.

Whilſt we were examining the field of battle with the greateſt minuteneſs, our ſervants went on to Cheſter to prepare dinner and apartments, but we ſoon followed them, and got there at four o'clock. The road did not appear long to me; for chance having ſeparated M. de la Fayette, M. de Noailles, and myſelf from the reſt of the company, we entered into a very agreeable converſation, which continued till we got to Cheſter. I could not help obſerving to them that after talking of nothing but war for three hours, we had ſuddenly changed the ſubject, and got on that of Paris, and all ſorts of diſcuſſions relative to our private ſocieties. This tranſition was truly French, but it does not prove that we are leſs fond of war, than other nations, only that we like our friends better. We were ſcarcely arrived at Cheſter, before we ſaw ſome ſtate barges or boats coming down the river, which the

the Preſident had ſent to conduct us back to Philadelphia, it being our plan to remount the Delaware next day, in order to examine the Fort of *Redbank*, and Fort *Miffling*, as well as the other poſts which had ſerved for the defence of the river. An officer of the American navy who was come with theſe barges, to conduct us, informed us that two veſſels were arrived at Philadelphia in thirty-five days from L'Orient. The hopes of receiving letters, or news from Europe, almoſt tempted us to relinquiſh our projects, and ſet out immediately for Philadelphia; but as the weather was fine, and we ſhould have the tide in our favour next day, which rendered our voyage more eaſy, we determined to remain at Cheſter, and M. de la Fayette ſent off a man and a horſe to Philadelphia, to bring back news, and letters, if there were any. This courier returned before nine; and only brought us a line from the Chevalier de la Luzerne, by which we learnt that theſe ſhips had no letters; but that the captains aſſured him, that Monſieur

ſieur de Caſtries was made miniſter of the marine.

Whilſt the Courier was going and coming, we had got to the inn, where dinner and lodgings were prepared.* The exterior of this houſe is not very tempting, and ſeveral of the company were preparing to look out elſewhere, but after a minute examination, we found room enough for a dozen maſters, as many ſervants, and nineteen horſes. In addition to our company we had the Major who met us on the field of battle of Brandywine, and the officer who had brought us the barges. We had an excellent dinner, and very good wine. The tea which followed pretty cloſe on dinner ſucceeded as well; ſo that all my fellow travellers, were in the beſt humour, and ſo gay as never to ceaſe laughing, ſinging, and dancing during the whole evening. The people of the houſe, who ſaw nothing in this company but two General officers, one French, the other American, accom-

* Mrs. *Withy's* inn at Cheſter, is one of the beſt on the Continent, and a favourite houſe for parties of pleaſure from Philadelphia. TRANSLATOR.

accompanied by their *families*, and not a ſociety of friends joyous to meet together in another hemiſphere, could not conceive how it was poſſible to be ſo gay without being drunk, and looked upon us as people deſcended from the moon. This evening which was lengthened to eleven o'clock, terminated well, for we had excellent beds, ſuch as one might expect to find in a well furniſhed country houſe. We roſe at ſix in the morning, and aſſembled in the dining-room, where a good breakfaſt was prepared for us by candle light. At ſeven we embarked, and croſſing the Delaware, obliquely a little higher up, we landed at *Billingſport*. This is a fort conſtructed in 1776, to ſupport the left of the firſt barrier of the Chevaux de Friſe, deſtined to block the paſſage of the river. This poſt was of no uſe, for the fortifications having been commenced on too extenſive a plan for the number of troops which could be ſpared, it was thought proper to abandon it. They have ſince been reduced, which is the better, as they are now removed from ſome points which commanded the

the fort. The preſent ſituation of affairs, not drawing the attention of Government to this quarter, the fortifications are rather neglected. All the battery there was, conſiſted of one pretty good braſs mortar, and five eighteen pounders, (Engliſh twenty-fours) which *Major Armſtrong*, who commands on the river, and came to receive me, fired on my arrival. When America has more money, and leiſure, ſhe will do well not to neglect this poſt, as well as all thoſe for the defence of the river. For this war once terminated, ſhe will ſee no more European armies on the Continent, and all ſhe can have to fear from England, in caſe of a rupture with her, will be a few maritime expeditions, the ſole object of which can be to deſtroy ſhipping, to ravage the country, and even to burn the towns within reach of the ſea. Unfortunately Billingſport belongs to the ſtate of Jerſey, which can reap no advantage from it; and that of Penſylvania, whoſe ſafety it would conſtitute, has no other means to employ towards fortifying it than its own requeſt, and the recommendations

of

of Congreſs, which are not always attended to. However this may be, Philadelphia took other precautions for her defence, which depended only on the ſtate of Penſylvania, and to this advantage is united that of an excellent poſition, which will ſoon be made impregnable; I mean Fort Miffling, whither we went on leaving Billingſport, ſtill aſcending the river. The iſle on which it is built, and that called *Mud Iſland*, ſupport the right of a ſecond barrier of Chevaux de Friſe, the left of which is defended by the Fort of *Red Bank*;* but it muſt be obſerved that the barrier only blocked the main channel of the river, the only paſſage by which it was thought that veſſels could paſs.† Near

* This fort too, is liable to the ſame difficulties with Billingſport, being on the Jerſey ſide.

TRANSLATOR.

† The perſon principally employed in ſinking the chevaux de friſe, and in ſecuring the paſſage of the river, was one *White*, who is ſuppoſed to have left this channel open deſignedly, as he afterwards turned out a decided traitor, went over to the enemy, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by every act of hoſtile virulence againſt his country.

TRANSLATOR.

Near the right bank is *Hog Iſland*, about two miles long, the ſurface of which, like that of moſt of the iſlands in the Delaware is ſo low, that at high water, nothing is to be ſeen but the tops of the reeds with which it is covered. Between this iſland, and the main land, a ſmall paſſage remained open, but the Americans were perſuaded that there was not water enough for any ſhip with guns to paſs it. At the extremity of this channel, and in remounting it, we leave on the left a marſhy ground, ſo ſurrounded by Creeks, and inlets, as to form a real iſland, called *Province Iſland.** This poſt was in the poſſeſſion of the enemy; who eſtabliſhed batteries there, which incommoded thoſe of Fort Mifflin, but not ſufficiently to make the Americans abandon it.

The Engliſh army were at that time in a ſingular ſituation: they had purchaſed and maintained poſſeſſion of Philadelphia at

* This is one of the richeſt ſpots of land in America, and being part of the proprietary eſtate, was parcelled out, and ſold in lots by the Aſſembly of the State.

at the price of two bloody battles; but they were ſtill ſhut up between the Schuylkill and the Delaware, having in their front Waſhington's army, which kept them in awe, and behind them ſeveral forts occupied by the Americans, which ſhut the paſſage of the Delaware. A large city, however, and a whole army muſt have ſubſiſtence; it became neceſſary therefore to open the communication by ſea, and to ſecure the navigation of the river. When one recollects the innumerable obſtacles the Engliſh had to ſurmount in the preſent war, it is difficult to aſſign the cauſe of their ſucceſſes; but if we turn our eyes on all the unforeſeen events which have deceived the expectation of the Americans, and fruſtrated their beſt concerted meaſures, one cannot but be perſuaded that they were devoted to deſtruction, and that the alliance with France alone proved the means of their preſervation. In this voyage, in particular, I ſaw freſh proofs of it every inſtant. When the place was pointed out to me where the *Auguſta*, of ſixty-four guns, took fire, and blew up in attempting

to

to force the chevaux de friſe, and further, on the remains of the *Merlin*, of two and twenty, which ran aſhore in the ſame action, and was burnt by the Engliſh themſelves, whilſt the Heſſians were vainly ſacrificing five or ſix hundred men before the Fort of Redbank, I figured to myſelf the Engliſh army ſtarved in Philadelphia, retreating with diſgrace and difficulty through the Jerſeys, and my imagination already enjoyed the triumph of America. But of a ſudden the ſcene changed, and I ſaw nothing but the fatality which collected towards the channel of Hog Iſland the waters long confined by the Chevaux de Friſe, and recollected with pain, that on the 15th of November, three weeks after the fruitleſs attempts I have mentioned, the Engliſh ſucceeded in paſſing over the bar of this channel, the *Vigilant*, and another ſmall ſhip of war; that they thus got up the river, and turned Fort Miffliin, the batteries of which they took from behind, and left the Americans no other reſource but to abandon the defence of the chevaux de friſe in all parts, and

make a precipitate retreat by the left ſhore of the Delaware.

Taught by ſad experience, the Americans have provided in future againſt the misfortunes which coſt them ſo dear. I ſaw them with pleaſure extending the fortifications of Miffling's Iſland, ſo as to encloſe the fort on every ſide, which will be ſurrounded alſo by the Delaware in place of a ditch; and as the garriſon will have a ſafe aſylum in ſouterrains, bomb-proof, this fort may henceforth be deemed impregnable. The plan of theſe works was given by M. du Portail; Major Armſtrong ſhewed me them upon the ſpot, and I found them correſpond perfectly with the juſt reputation of their author.

We now had to viſit Redbank; for which purpoſe we had again to croſs the Delaware, which in this place is a mile wide. The gentleman, who was to do the honour there, was impatient to arrive. We had amuſed ourſelves by telling him that the morning being far ſpent, and the tide about to turn, we ſhould be obliged to omit Redbank, and return directly to

Philadelphia. This conductor, whom we diverted ourſelves in tormenting, was M. du Pleſſis Mauduit, who in the double capacity of engineer, and officer of artillery, had the charge of arranging and defending this poſt, under the orders of Colonel *Green*. On landing from our boat, he propoſed conducting us to a Quaker's, whoſe houſe is half a muſquet ſhot from the fort, or rather the ruins of the fort; for it is now deſtroyed, and there are ſcarcely any *reliefs* of it remaining. "This man, ſaid M. de Mauduit, is a little of a tory; I was obliged to knock down his barn, and fell his fruit trees; but he will be glad to ſee M. de la Fayette, and will receive us well." We took him at his word, but never was expectation more compleatly deceived. We found our Quaker ſeated in the chimney corner, buſied in cleaning herbs: he recollected M. de Mauduit, who named M. de la Fayette, and me, to him; but he did not deign to lift his eyes, nor to anſwer any of our introducer's diſcourſe, which at firſt was complimentary, and at length

jocoſe. Except *Dido's* ſilence, I know nothing more ſevere, but we had no difficulty in accommodating ourſelves to this bad reception, and made our way to the fort. We had not gone a hundred yards before we came to a ſmall elevation, on which a ſtone was vertically placed, with this ſhort epitaph: *here lies buried Colonel Donop.* M. de Mauduit could not refrain from expreſſing his regret for this brave man, who died in his arms two days after the action; he aſſured us that we could not make a ſtep without treading on the remains of ſome Heſſians; for near three hundred were buried in the front of the ditch.

The Fort of Redbank was deſigned, as I have ſaid above, to ſupport the left of the chevaux de friſe. The bank of the Delaware at this place is ſteep; but even this ſteepneſs allowed the enemy to approach the fort, under cover, and without being expoſed to the fire of the batteries. To remedy this inconvenience, ſeveral gallies armed with cannon, and deſtined to defend the chevaux de friſe, were poſted the

the whole length of the eſcarpement, and took it in reverſe. The Americans, little practiſed in the art of fortifications, and always diſpoſed to take works beyond their ſtrength, had made thoſe of Redbank too extenſive. When M. de Mauduit obtained permiſſion to be ſent thither with Colonel Green, he immediately ſet about reducing the fortifications, by interſecting them from eaſt to weſt, which transformed them into a ſort of large redoubt nearly of a pentagonal form. A good earthen rampart, raiſed to the height of the cordon, a foſſé, and an abattis in front of the foſſé, conſtituted the whole ſtrength of this poſt, in which were placed *three hundred men*,* and fourteen pieces of cannon. The 22d of October, in the morning, they received intelligence that a detachment of two thouſand five hundred Heſſians were advancing; who were ſoon after perceived on the edge of a wood to the north of *Redbank*, nearly within cannon ſhot. Preparations were

* General Howe calls them *about* 1800 men.
TRANSLATOR.

making for the defence, when a Heſſian officer advanced, preceded by a drum; he was ſuffered to approach, but his harangue was ſo inſolent that it only ſerved to irritate the garriſon, and inſpire them with more reſolution. "*The King of England*, ſaid "he, *orders his rebellious ſubjects to lay down* "*their arms, and they are warned, that if* "*they ſtand the battle, no quarters whatever* "*will be given.*" The anſwer was, that they accepted the challenge, and that there ſhould be no quarter on either ſide. At four o'clock in the afternoon, the Heſſians made a very briſk fire from a battery of cannon, and ſoon after they opened, and marched to the firſt entrenchment, from which, finding it abandoned, but not deſtroyed, they *imagined* they had driven the Americans. They then ſhouted *victoria*, waved their hats in the air, and advanced towards the redoubt. The ſame drummer, who a few hours before had come to ſummon the garriſon, and had appeared as inſolent as his officer, was at their head beating the march; both he, and that officer were knocked on the head by the firſt fire. The Heſſians, however,

ever, ſtill kept advancing within the firſt entrenchment, leaving the river on their right: they had already reached the abattis, and were endeavouring to tear up, or cut away the branches, when they were overwhelmed with a ſhower of muſquet ſhot, which took them in front, and in flank; for as chance would have it, a part of the courtine of the old entrenchment, which had not been deſtroyd, formed a projection at this very part of the interſection. M. de Mauduit had contrived to form it into a ſort of *caponiere*, (or trench with loop-holes) into which he threw ſome men, who flanked the enemy's left, and fired on them at cloſe ſhot. Officers were ſeen every moment rallying their men, marching back to the abattis, and falling amidſt the branches they were endeavouring to cut. Colonel Donop was particularly diſtinguiſhed by the marks of the order he wore, by his handſome figure, and by his courage; he was alſo ſeen to fall like the reſt. The Heſſians, repulſed by the fire of the redoubt, attempted to ſecure themſelves from it by attacking on the ſide of the eſcarpement, but the fire

from the gallies ſent them back with a great loſs of men. At length they relinquiſhed the attack, and regained the wood in diſorder.

Whilſt this was paſſing on the north ſide, another column made an attack on the ſouth, and, more fortunate than the other, paſſed the abattis, traverſed the foſſé, and mounted the berm; but they were ſtopped by the fraiſes, and M. de Mauduit running to this poſt as ſoon as he ſaw the firſt aſſailants give way, the others were obliged to follow their example. They ſtill did not dare however to ſtir out of the fort, fearing a ſurprize; but M. de Mauduit wiſhing to replace ſome paliſades which had been torn up; he ſallied out with a few men, and was ſurprized to find about twenty Heſſians ſtanding on the berm, and ſtuck up againſt the ſhelving of the parapet. Theſe ſoldiers who had been bold enough to advance thus far, ſenſible that there was more riſque in returning, and not thinking proper to expoſe themſelves, were taken and brought into the fort. M. de Mauduit, after fixing the

the paliſades, employed himſelf in repairing the abattis; he again ſallied out with a detachment, and it was then he beheld the deplorable ſpectacle of the dead, and dying, heaped one upon another. A voice aroſe from amidſt theſe carcaſes, and ſaid in Engliſh; *whoever you are, draw me hence.* It was the voice of Colonel Donop: M. de Mauduit made the ſoldiers lift him up, and carry him into the fort, where he was ſoon known. He had his hip broken; but whether they did not conſider his wound as mortal, or that they were heated by the battle, and ſtill irritated at the menaces thrown out againſt them a few hours before, the Americans could not help ſaying, aloud: *Well! is it determined to give no quarter? I am in your hands,* replied the Colonel, *you may revenge yourſelves.* M. de Mauduit had no difficulty in impoſing ſilence, and employed himſelf only in taking care of the wounded officer. The latter, perceiving he ſpoke bad Engliſh, ſaid to him: *you appear to me a foreigner, Sir, who are you?—A French officer,* replied the other.—*Je ſuis content,* ſaid Donop, making uſe

uſe of our language, *je meurs entre les mains de l'honneur meme.* I am content; I die in the hands of honour itſelf. The next day he was removed to the Quaker's houſe, where he lived three days, during which he converſed frequently with M. de Mauduit. He told him that he had been long in friendſhip with M. de Saint-Germain, that he wiſhed in dying to recommend to him his vanquiſher, and benefactor. He aſked for paper, and wrote a letter, which he delivered to M. de Mauduit, requiring of him, as the laſt favour, to acquaint him when he was about to die: the latter was ſoon under the neceſſity of acquitting himſelf of this ſad duty: *it is finiſhing a noble career early,* ſaid the Colonel; *but I die the victim of my ambition, and of the avarice of my ſovereign.* Fifteen wounded officers were found, like him, upon the field of battle; M. de Mauduit had the ſatisfaction to conduct them himſelf to Philadelphia, where he was very well received by General Howe. By ſingular accident, it happened that the Engliſh that very day received indirect intelligence of the capitulation of Burgoyne,

of

of which he knew more than they. They pretended to give no credit to it: *you who, are a Frenchman,* ſaid they, *ſpeak freely, do you think it poſſible? I know,* replied he, *that the fact is ſo; explain it as you think proper.*

Perhaps I have dwelt too long on this event; but I ſhall not have to apologize to thoſe who will partake of the pleaſing ſatisfaction I experience, in fixing my eyes upon the triumphs of America, and in diſcovering my countrymen amongſt thoſe who have reaped her laurels. At preſent I haſten my return to Philadelphia, where, on my arrival, I had only time to dreſs myſelf to attend the Chevalier de la Luzerne, and the companions of my journey, to dinner at Mr. Huntington's, the Preſident of Congreſs. Mrs. Huntington, a good looking, luſty woman, but not young, did the honours of the table, that is to ſay, helped every body without ſaying a word. I did not remain long after dinner, having a little ſnug rendezvous, which I was not inclined to miſs. The reader will think it time for me to throw ſome variety into this

this journal; but I am obliged to confeſs that this rendezvous was with Mr. Samuel Adams. We had promiſed ourſelves at our laſt interview to ſet an evening apart for a tranquil tête-à-tete, and this was the day appointed. Our converſation commenced with a topic of which he might have ſpared himſelf the diſcuſſion; the juſtice of the cauſe he was engaged in. I am clearly of opinion that the parliament of England had no right to tax America without her conſent, but I am more clearly convinced that when a whole people ſay *we will be free*, it is difficult to demonſtrate they are in the wrong. Be that as it may, Mr. Adams very ſatisfactorily proved to me, that New England, comprehending the ſtates of Maſſachuſſets, New Hampſhire, Connecticut, and Rhode Iſland, were not peopled with any view to commerce and aggrandiſement, but wholly by individuals who fled from perſecution, and ſought an aſylum at the extremity of the world, where they might be free to live, and follow their opinions; that it was of their own accord, that thoſe new coloniſts put themſelves under the protection

tion of England; that the mutual relation-ſhip, ſpringing from this connexion, was expreſſed in their charters, and that the right of impoſing, or exacting a revenue of any kind was not comprized in them.

From this ſubject we paſſed to a more intereſting one; the form of government which ſhould be given to each ſtate; for it is only on account of the future, that it is neceſſary to take a retroſpect of the paſt. The revolution has taken place, and the republic is beginning; it is an infant newly born, the queſtion is how to nouriſh, and rear it to maturity. I expreſſed to Mr. Adams ſome anxiety for the foundations on which the new conſtitutions are formed, and particularly that of Maſſachuſſets. Every citizen, ſaid I, every man who pays taxes, has a right to vote in the election of repreſentatives, who form the legiſlative body, and who may be called the ſovereign power. All this is very well for the preſent moment, becauſe every citizen is pretty equally at his eaſe, or may be ſo in a ſhort time, but the ſucceſs of commerce, and even of agriculture, will introduce riches amongſt you, and

riches

riches will produce inequality of fortunes, and of property. Now, wherever this inequality exiſts, the real force will invariably be on the ſide of property; ſo that if the influence in government be not proportioned to that property, there will always be a contrariety, a combat between the form of government, and its natural tendency, the right will be on one ſide, and the power on the other; the balance then only can exiſt between the two equally dangerous extremes, of ariſtocracy and anarchy. Beſides, the ideal worth of men muſt ever be comparative: an individual without property is a diſcontented citizen, when the ſtate is poor; place a rich man near him, he dwindles into a clown. What will reſult then, one day, from veſting the right of election in this claſs of citizens? The ſource of civil broils, or corruption, perhaps both at the ſame time. The following was pretty nearly the anſwer of Mr. Adams. I am very ſenſible of the force of your objections; we are not what we ſhould be, we ſhould labour rather for the future, than for the preſent moment. I build a country houſe, and have

have infant children; I ought doubtleſs to conſtruct their apartments with an eye to the time in which they ſhall be grown up and married: but we have not neglected this precaution. In the firſt place, I muſt inform you, that this new conſtitution was propoſed and agreed to in the moſt legitimate manner of which there is any example ſince the days of Lycurgus. A committee choſen from the members of the legiſlative body, then exiſting, and which might be conſidered as a proviſional government, was named to prepare a new code of laws. As ſoon as it was prepared, each county or diſtrict was required to name a committee to examine this plan: it was recommended to them to ſend it back at the expiration of a certain time, with their obſervations. Theſe obſervations having been diſcuſſed by the committee, and the neceſſary alterations made, the plan was ſent back to each particular committee. When they had all approved it, they received orders to communicate it to the people at large, and to demand their ſuffrages. If two-thirds of the voters approved it, it was to have the force of law, and

and be regarded as the work of the people themſelves; of two and twenty thouſand ſuffrages, a much greater proportion than two-thirds was in favour of the new conſtitution. Now theſe were the principles on which it was eſtabliſhed: a ſtate is never free but when each citizen is bound by no law whatever that he has not approved of, either by himſelf, or by his repreſentatives; but to repreſent another man, it is neceſſary to have been elected by him; every citizen therefore ſhould have a part in elections. On the other hand, it would be in vain for the people to poſſeſs the right of electing repreſentatives, were they reſtrained in the choice of them to a particular claſs; it is neceſſary therefore not to require too much property as a qualification for the *repreſentative of the people*. Accordingly the houſe of repreſentatives which form the legiſlative body, and the true *ſovereign*, are the people themſelves repreſented by their delegates. Thus far the government is purely democratical; but it is the permanent and enlightened will of the people which ſhould conſtitute law, and

not

not the paſſions and ſallies to which they are too ſubject. It is neceſſary to moderate their firſt emotions, and bring them to the teſt of enquiry and reflection. This is the important buſineſs entruſted with the Governor and Senate, who repreſent with us the negative power, veſted in England in the upper-houſe, and even in the crown, with this difference only, that in our new conſtitution the ſenate has a right to reject a law, and the governor to ſuſpend the promulgation, and return it for a reconſideration; but theſe forms complied with, if, after this freſh examination, the people perſiſt in their reſolution, and there is then, not as before, a mere majority, but two-thirds of the ſuffrages in favour of the law, the governor and ſenate are compelled to give it their ſanction. Thus this power moderates, without deſtroying the authority of the people, and ſuch is the organization of our republic, as to prevent the ſprings from breaking by too rapid a movement, without ever ſtopping them entirely. Now, it is here we have given all its weight to property. A man muſt have a pretty conſider-

able property to vote for a member of the Senate; he muſt have a more conſiderable one to be himſelf eligible. Thus the democracy is pure and entire in the aſſembly, which repreſents the *ſovereign*; and the ariſtocracy, or, if you will, the *optimacy*, is to be found only in the moderating power, where it is the more neceſſary, as men never watch more carefully over the ſtate than when they have a great intereſt in its deſtiny. As to the power of commanding armies, it ought neither to be veſted in a great, nor even in a ſmall number of men: the Governor alone can employ the forces by ſea and land according to the neceſſity; but the land forces will conſiſt only in the militia, which, as it is compoſed of the people themſelves, can never act againſt the people.*

Such

* As there appears to be ſome little inaccuracy in this account of the converſation, the reader is referred to the *Conſtitution of the Maſſachuſſets*, as republiſhed in England with thoſe of the other ſtates, where he will ſee the reſpective privileges and powers of the *Senate* and *Governor and Council* clearly diſcriminated, which are here confounded. The Tranſlator has endeavoured to free the original from its ob-

Such was the idea Mr. Adams gave me of his own work, * for it is he who had the greateſt part in the formation of the new laws. It is ſaid, however, that before his credit was employed to get them accepted, it was neceſſary to combat his private opinion, and to make him abandon ſyſtems in which he loved to ſtray, for leſs ſublime, but more practicable projects. This citizen, otherwiſe ſo reſpectable, has been frequently reproached with conſulting his library, rather than the preſent circumſtances, and of always beginning by the Greeks and Romans, to get at the whigs and tories; if this be true, I ſhall only ſay that ſtudy has alſo its inconveniences, but not ſuch as are important, ſince Mr. Samuel Adams, heretofore the enemy of regular troops, and the

ſcurity, *the ſenate* being there wholly overlooked, and its duties blended with thoſe of the Governor and Council; and materially to preſerve the drift of Mr. Adams's argument. TRANSLATOR.

* I have ſome reaſon to think that the admirable form of government for Maſſachuſſets Bay, is *not* the work of Mr. Samuel Adams, but of Mr. *John Adams*, the preſent Miniſter Plenipotentiary from the United States, in England. TRANSLATOR.

moſt extravagant partiſan of the democracy, at preſent employs all his influence to maintain an army, and to eſtabliſh a mixed government. Be that as it may, I departed well content with this converſation, which was only interrupted by a glaſs of Madeira, a diſh of tea, and an old American General, now a member of Congreſs, who lodges with Mr. Adams.

I knew that there was a ball at the Chevalier de la Luzerne's, which made me leſs in a hurry to return thither: it was, however, a very agreeable aſſembly; for it was given to a private ſociety, on the occaſion of a marriage. There were near twenty women, twelve or fourteen of whom were dancers; each of them having her partner, as is the cuſtom in America. Dancing is ſaid to be at once the emblem of gaiety and of love; here it ſeems to be the emblem of legiſlation, and of marriage; of legiſlation, inaſmuch as places are marked out, the country dances named, and every proceeding provided for, calculated and ſubmitted to regulation; of marriage, as it furniſhes each lady with a partner, with whom ſhe dances

dances the whole evening, without being allowed to take another. It is true that every ſevere law requires mitigation, and that it often happens, that a young lady after dancing the two or three firſt dances with her partner, may make a freſh choice, or accept of the invitation ſhe has received; but ſtill the compariſon holds good, for it is a marriage in the *European faſhion*. Strangers have generally the privilege of being complimented with the handſomeſt women. The Comte de Darnes had Mrs. Bingham for his partner, and the Vicomte de Noailles, Miſs Shippen. Both of them, like true philoſophers, teſtified a great reſpect for the manners of the country, by not quitting their handſome partners the whole evening; in other reſpects they were the admiration of all the aſſembly, from the grace and nobleneſs with which they danced; I may even aſſert, to the honour of my country, that they ſurpaſſed a Chief Juſtice of Carolina (Mr. Pendleton) and two members of Congreſs, one of whom (Mr. Duane) paſſed however for being by 10 per cent. more lively than all the other

dancers. The ball was ſuſpended, towards midnight, by a ſupper, ſerved in the manner of coffee, on ſeveral different tables. On paſſing into the dining-room, the Chevalier de la Luzerne preſented his hand to Mrs. Morris, and gave her the precedence, an honour pretty generally beſtowed on her, as ſhe is the richeſt woman in the city, and all ranks here being equal, men follow their natural bent, by giving the preference to riches. The ball continued till two in the morning, as I learnt the next morning on riſing, for I had ſeen too many attacks and battles the day before not to have learnt to make a timely retreat.

Our young folks ſtanding in need of repoſe after their journey and exerciſe of the evening, did not appear at breakfaſt. In their ſtead, we had an old Quaker of the name of *Benezet*, whoſe diminutive figure, and humble and ſcanty phyſiognomy, formed a perfect contraſt to Mr. Pendleton. This Mr. Benezet may rather be regarded as the model, than as a ſpecimen of the ſect of Quakers: wholly occupied with the welfare of mankind, his charity and generoſity

roſity made him be held in great conſideration in happier times, when the virtues alone ſufficed to render the citizen illuſtrious. At preſent the noiſe of arms deafens the ears againſt the ſighs of charity, and the amor patriæ has prevailed over the love of humanity. Benezet, however, ſtill exerciſes his benevolence: he came to get ſome information reſpecting the new methods invented in France of reſtoring drowned perſons to life. I promiſed not only to ſend them to him from Newport, but to tranſmit to him ſuch a box, with the neceſſaries, as our government has diſtributed in the ſea-port towns. Confidence being eſtabliſhed between us, we fell on the topic of the miſeries of war. "Friend, ſays he to me, I know thou art a man of letters, "and a member of the French Academy: "the men of letters have written a great "many good things of late; they have "attacked errors and prejudices, and, "above all, intolerance; will they not "endeavour too, to diſguſt men with the "horrors of war, and to make them live "together like friends and brethren?"—

"Thou art not deceived, Friend, replied "I, when thou buildeſt ſome hope on "the progreſs of enlightened philoſophy. "Many active hands are labouring at the "grand edifice of public happineſs; but vainly "will they employ themſelves in finiſhing "ſome parts of it, as long as there is a "deficiency at the baſe, and that baſe, thou "haſt ſaid it, is univerſal peace. As for into-"lerance and perſecution, it is true that theſe "two enemies of the human race, are not "bound by ſtrong enough chains; but I "will whiſper a word in thy ear, of which "thou wilt not perhaps feel all the force, "though thou art well acquainted with "the French; *they are out of faſhion*; I "ſhould even believe them to be on the "point of annihilation, but for ſome little "circumſtances thou art not informed of; "which are, *that they who attack them are "now and then impriſoned, and Abbies of a "hundred thouſand livres a year beſtowed on "ſuch as favour them.*" "A hundred "thouſand livres a year! cried Benezet, "there is wherewithal to build hoſpitals "and eſtabliſh manufactures; this doubt-

"leſs

" leſs is the uſe they make of their riches."
" No, Friend, replied I, perſecution muſt
" be kept in pay; though it muſt be con-
" feſſed that it is but indifferently paid,
" for the moſt ſplendid of theſe perſecutors
" content themſelves with giving a penſion
" of ten or twelve hundred livres to a few
" ſatirical poets, or journaliſts, enemies of
" letters, whoſe works are greatly read, but
" little ſold."—" Friend, ſays the Quaker,
" this perſecution is a ſtrange thing: I can
" hardly believe what has happened to
" myſelf. My father was a Frenchman,
" and I am a native of thy country. It is
" now ſixty years, ſince he was obliged to
" ſeek an aſylum in England, taking with
" him his children, the only treaſure he
" could ſave in his misfortunes. Juſtice,
" or what is ſo called in thy country, or-
" dered him to be hung in effigy, for
" explaining the Goſpel differently from
" thy prieſts. My father was not much
" better pleaſed with thoſe of England;
" wiſhing to get out of the way of all
" hierarchy, he came and ſettled in this
" country, where I led a happy life until

" this

" this war broke out. I have long forgot " all the perſecutions my family under- " went. I love thy nation, becauſe it is " mild and ſenſible, and as for thee, " Friend, I know that thou ſerveſt huma- " nity as much as in thy power. When " thou ſhalt get to Europe, engage thy " brethren to ſecond thee, and, in the mean " time, permit me to place under thy " protection our brethren of Rhode Iſland." He then recommended to me ſpecifically the Quakers living in that ſtate, and who are pretty numerous; after which he took leave, deſiring my permiſſion to ſend me ſome pamphlets, *in his way*, which were principally apologies for his ſect. I aſſured him I would read them with great pleaſure, and he did not fail to ſend them the next morning.

Of whatever ſect a man may be who is inflamed with an ardent love of humanity, he is undoubtedly a reſpectable being; but I muſt confeſs that it is difficult to beſtow upon this ſect in general, that eſteem which cannot be refuſed to ſome individuals. The law obſerved by many of them, of ſaying neither

neither *you*, nor *ſir*, is far from giving them a tone of ſimplicity and candour. I know not whether it be to compenſate for that ſort of ruſticity, that they in general aſſume a ſmooth and wheedling tone, which is altogether Jeſuitical. Nor does their conduct belie this reſemblance: concealing their indifference for the public welfare under the cloak of religion, they are ſparing of blood, 'tis true, eſpecially of their own people;* but they trick both parties out

* In confirmation of this remark, I cannot avoid referring to a circumſtance which made a conſiderable noiſe at the time, and has been groſſly perverted to the diſcredit of American humanity. Every reader attentive to the events of the war in that country, muſt recollect the execution of *Carliſle* and *Roberts*, two conſiderable Quakers, after the evacuation of Philadelphia by General Clinton; the barbarity of putting to death two members of a ſect ſo peaceable and inoffenſive, who *had not borne arms*, and whoſe principles forbid an active oppoſition to *any* form of government, was much enlarged upon. In juſtice to America, and for the benefit of future hiſtorians, I ſhall give the fact, the truth of which will bear enquiry, as I had it from men of every party and deſcription in that city, and leave the deciſion to every impartial man. The Quakers in America, I ſpeak generally, had long belied their principles, and

out of their money, and that without either ſhame or decency. It is a received maxim in trade, to beware of them, and this opinion, which is well founded, will become ſtill more neceſſary. In fact, nothing can be

covertly and openly done every thing in their power to thwart the meaſures adopted by a vaſt majority of their countrymen, then in poſſeſſion of the government; their ſecret intrigues and open defiance were long overlooked and borne with, until danger became ſo critical as to demand ſome precautions for the common ſafety. A few of the moſt *active* ſpirits amongſt theſe pacific and *paſſive* ſectaries were arreſted, and ſent from the immediate ſcene of action into Virginia, where they ſuffered only a temporary reſtraint from miſchief. Carliſle and Roberts, tho' well known for a malignant hatred to the cauſe of America, unfortunately for them, eſcaping this temporary exile, continued their clandeſtine practices until General Howe got poſſeſſion of the city, when they no longer ſet any bounds to their inveteracy. They were both employed by the General, or his honeſt and grateful agent *Mr. Galloway*, in the adminiſtration of the police, or in other words, they undertook, *Carliſle* in particular, to diſcriminate between the Loyaliſts and the Friends to America. *Carliſle* granted permiſſions to paſs the lines, watched at the gates, to point out obnoxious perſons coming in from the country, who were frequently committed to priſon on his bare ſuggeſtion, and exerciſed, in

be worſe than enthuſiaſm in its downfall; for what can be its ſubſtitute, but hypocriſy? That monſter ſo well known in Europe, finds but too eaſy an acceſs to all religions;

ſhort, the office of ſub-inquiſitor to Mr. Joſeph Galloway. Nor was this the only method by which they manifeſted the peaceable principles of their ſect. General Howe having received information of a party of militia lying in the woods, in the county of Bucks, at ſixteen miles diſtance, under General Lacy, diſpatched Lieutenant Colonel Abercrombie with a conſiderable detachment by the Frankfort road to attack them; and one or both of theſe harmleſs Quakers, who would not *bear arms* for the wealth of Britain, conſcientiouſly undertook to conduct this man of blood to a ſucceſsful ſurprize and maſſacre of their own countrymen. Theſe, and a variety of other facts being proved againſt them, after the evacuation of the town, where they had the *preſumption* to remain, and there being an evident neceſſity for making an example of theſe moſt dangerous of all enemies, lenity would have been as ill timed as unjuſt to the ſuffering citizens. Such, I am ſorry to ſay it, was the undoubted conduct of too many of this once reſpectable body, during the war, a conduct, which muſt not only be condemned by every honourable and feeling mind, but I may venture to ſay, is wholly repugnant to the principles of a Lettſom, a Fothergill, a Barclay, or a *William Penn*; for, it may be pronounced with no intolerant ſpirit,

religions; he found none, however, in a a company of young ladies, who were invited, as well as myſelf, to drink tea with Mrs. Cunningham. They were well dreſſed, ſeemed deſirous of pleaſing, and it is fair to conclude, that their private ſentiments were in uniſon with their appearance. The miſtreſs of the houſe is amiable, and her converſation graceful and intereſting. This aſſembly recalled to my mind in every reſpect, thoſe of Holland, and Geneva, where one meets with gaiety without indecency, and the wiſh to pleaſe without coquettry.

On Sunday the 10th I had reſolved to make a circuit through the churches, and different

that in caſes of critical emergency, no ſociety can endure ſuch members. In oppoſition, however, to newſpaper reports, and their cries of perſecution, I can myſelf bear teſtimony to the unpuniſhed licence theſe Quieteſts gave their tongues in the very ſeat of Congreſs, and in defiance of the Aſſembly of the State, and to their oſtentatious diſplay of the portraits of the King and Queen of England, which, however, there is every reaſon to believe, was more the reſult of obſtinacy, and the ſpirit of contradiction, than of loyalty or reaſon, in this ſelfiſh ſet of people.

TRANSLATOR.

different places of worſhip. Unluckily the different ſects, who agree in neither point, take the ſame hour to aſſemble the faithful, ſo that in the morning I was only able to viſit the quakers meeting, and in the afternoon the church of England. The hall the Quakers meet in is ſquare; there are, on every ſide, and parallel with the walls, benches and deſks, by which means they are placed oppoſite to each other, without either altar or pulpit to attract the attention. As ſoon as they are aſſembled, one of the more elderly makes an extempore prayer, of whatever comes uppermoſt in his mind; ſilence is then obſerved until ſome man or woman feels inſpired, and riſes to ſpeak. Travellers muſt be taken at their word, however extraordinary their motives. Like Arioſto, I ſhall recount prodigies, *diro maraviglia*; but it is a fact that I arrived at the moment a woman was done holding forth; ſhe was followed by a man who talked a great deal of nonſenſe about internal grace, the illumination of the ſpirit, and the other dogmas of his ſect, which he bandied about, but took ſpecial care not to explain them; and at length finiſhed his

diſcourſe to the great content of the brethren, and the ſiſterhood, who had all of them a very inattentive and liſtleſs air. After ſeven or eight minutes ſilence, an old man went on his knees, dealt us out a very unmeaning prayer, and diſmiſſed the audience.*

On

* Mention has been frequently made in the public prints of the new ſect of *ſhakers* in Maſſachuſſets Bay, who carry their frantic orgies to ſtill more ridiculous and licentious exceſſes than the priſtine Quakers, with George Fox at their head; but I have ſeen no notice taken of another, which ſprung up at Rhode Iſland about the year 1780. A very comely *young woman* is, or pretends to be, impreſſed with the belief that ſhe is in her perſon *the ſaviour of the world* revived, and travels from place to place, attended by twelve young men, whom ſhe calls *her apoſtles*; who, if the general aſſertion be credited, have literally followed the precept of "making eunuchs of themſelves for Chriſt's ſake." General Gates told me he heard her preach at Rhode Iſland, and I made an attempt to hear her at Philadelphia in October 1782, but the crowd was ſo great, and, what is very uncommon in America, ſo turbulent, that it was impoſſible to get near the place of worſhip. Two of her apoſtles came to the houſe I boarded in, to obtain lodgings for her, and ſome of the brethren; by which means I had an opportunity of ſeeing a ſpecimen of them, but they would enter into no converſation; they were tall, handſome

On quitting this melancholy, homeſpun aſſembly, the ſervice of the Engliſh church appeared to me a ſort of *opera*, as well for the muſic as the decorations: a handſome pulpit placed before a handſome organ; a handſome miniſter in that pulpit, reading, ſpeaking, and ſinging with a grace entirely theatrical, a number of young women anſwering melodiouſly from the pit and boxes, (for the two ſide galleries form a ſort of boxes) a ſoft and agreeable vocal muſic, with excellent ſonatas, played alternately on the organ; all this, compared to the quakers, the anabaptiſts, the preſbyterians, &c. appeared to me rather like a little paradiſe itſelf, than as the road to it. If however we conſider the different ſects, whether rigid, or frivolous, but all imperious, all excluſive, we think we ſee men reading in the great book of nature, like *Montauciel* at his

young men, the youngeſt not above nineteen, with large round flapped hats, and long flowing ſtrait locks, with a ſort of melancholy wildneſs in their countenances, and an effeminate, dejected air, which ſeemed to juſtify the truth of what I believe literally to be their unfortunate ſituation. TRANSLATOR.

leſſon, when inſtead of *vous etes un blanc bec*, he perſiſts in repeating *trompette bleſſé*. It is a million to one that a man ſhould hit upon a line of writing without knowing how to ſpell his letters: but ſhould he come to aſk your aſſiſtance, beware how you meddle with him; it is better to leave him in his error than to cut throats with him. †

I ſhall only mention my dinner this day at Mrs. Powell's, to ſay that it was excellent and agreeable in every reſpect. The converſation carried us ſo far into the evening, that it was near eleven when I returned home.

M. de la Fayette had made a party with the Vicomte de Noailles and the Comte de Damas, to go the next morning, firſt to German-Town (which the two latter had not yet ſeen) and from thence to the old camp at *Whitemarſh*. Though I had already viewed the former, I had no objection to going over it a ſecond time, beſides that I was curious to ſee the compleat Whitemarſh.

† For this alluſion the reader is referred to the humorous priſon ſcene, between *Montauciel* and the *Deſerteur*, in the *comic opera* of that name. Montauciel is the *Skirmiſh* of the Engliſh theatre, in their copy from the French. TRANSLATOR.

marſh. It is that which was occupied by General Waſhington after the unſucceſsful attempt of the 7th of October. As this was a bold poſition which the Engliſh never dared to attack, it is very celebrated in the American army, where they aſſert that they had *no other entrenchment than two redoubts.* The fact is, that the poſition is excellent, and does great honour to General Waſhington, who could diſcover it, as if by inſtinct, through thoſe woods with which the country was then covered; but it is no leſs true, that General Howe had every reaſon for not attacking it, and, amongſt others, for the following: deſcending from the heights of German-Town, there are very thick woods; on coming out of them, to the weſt, is a pretty high hill, the foot of which is watered by a rivulet, with ſteep banks, which turns towards the north and protects the right of the camp. Six pieces of cannon were placed on this eminence, with four hundred men, who formed an advanced *pion.* It is called Cheſnut-Hill, from a little church of that name, ſituated on its ſummit; behind this eminence, and behind the

woods which ſtretch from eaſt to weſt the ground riſes conſiderably, and forms two hills with a gentle declivity, which commands Cheſnut church; here the army was encamped. Theſe hills are only ſeparated by a ſmall bottom; each ſummit was fortified with a redoubt, and the ſlope of it defended by an abattis. The hill on the left was ſtill further protected by a rivulet, which might be increaſed at pleaſure, as it ran behind the camp, and it was eaſy to make the dams neceſſary for raiſing the waters. The front of this poſition, 'tis true, is covered with wood; but theſe woods terminate at three hundred yards from the line formed abreaſt; an enemy therefore muſt have come out of them uncovered, and how get through a wood where there is no road, and which was filled with militia and *rifle-men?* I pointed out the more minutely all the advantages of this poſition, that I might amuſe myſelf in exaggerating them to M. de la Fayette, to convince him that he was a *Gaſcon* as well as the reſt of them. He owned to me that the camp was a good one, and that if the Engliſh had given them

room for pleaſantry, it was only by inſerting in their relations that the Rebels were ſo well *entrenched* that it was impoſſible to attack them. But we were unanimous in our concluſion, that the more reſpectable this poſition was, the more honour it did to General Waſhington, who had divined, rather than diſcovered it. This was really an eagle's-eye view, for it ſeems as if he muſt have hovered above the trees to examine the ground concealed by them.*

Having taken our view, we returned briſkly to the Chevalier de la Luzerne's, where dinner came very a propos, after being eight hours on horſeback, and riding ſix and thirty miles. In the afternoon we drank tea with Miſs Shippen. This was the firſt time, ſince my arrival in America, that I had ſeen muſic introduced into ſociety, and mix with its amuſements. *Miſs Rutledge* † played on the harpſichord, and

* *See* General Howe's account of his *attempt* upon this camp. TRANSLATOR.

† Miſs Rutledge is ſince married to M. de Marbois, who is at preſent Secretary to M. de la Luzerne in his government of St. Domingo. TRANSLATOR.

played very well. Miſs Shippen ſung with timidity, but with a pretty voice. Mr. Ottaw, Secretary to M. de la Luzerne, ſent for his harp ||, he accompanied Miſs Shippen, and played ſeveral pieces. Muſic naturally leads to dancing: the Vicomte de Noailles, took down a violin, which was mounted with harp ſtrings, and he made the young ladies dance, whilſt their mothers and other grave perſonages chatted in another room. When muſic, and the fine arts come to proſper at Philadelphia; when ſociety once becomes eaſy and gay there, and they learn to accept of pleaſure when it preſents itſelf, without a formal invitation, then may foreigners enjoy all the advantages peculiar to their manners and government, without envying any thing in Europe §.

The

|| He is now Conſul General, and Chargé des Affaires at Philadelphia in the abſence of the Chevalier de la Luzerne.——The Chevalier does not return to America, being appointed to the government of St. Domingo, and no other Miniſter is yet named. TRANSLATOR.

§ It is very certain that any perſon educated in Europe, and accuſtomed to the luxury of muſic and

The 12th, in the morning, a new cavalcade, and a new reconnoitring party. M. de la Fayette was to do the honours of this. The juſt intereſt he inſpires, has given ſtill more celebrity to an event, of itſelf ſingular enough. The alliance with France being already public in June 1778, it ſeemed probable that the Engliſh would not delay the evacuation of Philadelphia. In this ſtate of things, though it was General Waſhington's buſineſs to riſque nothing, it

the fine arts, and to their enjoyment in the two capitals of France and England, muſt find a great void in theſe particulars in America. This the Tranſlator experienced during his reſidence in that country, and felt the contraſt with greater force on his return to Europe. After a long abſence, in which he heard ſcarcely any other muſic than church hymns, the cannon, and the drum; or viewing any paintings but the little ſketches of *Cimetiere*, or the portraits of *Peele*, at Philadelphia: on his arrival at Bordeaux after the peace, the common orcheſtra at the theatre afforded him more exquiſite delight than he had ever felt from one of *Haydon's* beſt ſymphonies at Bach's, or than he ſhould now feel perhaps at the Weſtminſter commemoration of Handel; and the very moderate exhibition at the Louvre, was, to him, a groupe of Raphaels, Titians, and Vandykes. TRANSLATOR.

it was important nevertheleſs to watch the motions of the enemy. M. de la Fayette received orders to march from *Valley Forge*, with two thouſand infantry, fifty dragoons, and as many ſavages, to paſs the Schuylkill, and take poſt on a height called *Barrenhill*, about twelve miles diſtant from Philadelphia. The poſition was critical, he might be attacked, or turned, by three different roads; but M. de la Fayette guarded the moſt direct of the three; a Brigadier General of militia, named *Potter*, had orders to watch the ſecond, and patroles kept an eye upon the third, which was the moſt circuitous. Though theſe precautions ſeemed ſufficient at firſt ſight, they muſt not have been deemed ſo by General Howe; for he thought he had now fairly caught *the Marquis*, and even carried his gaſconade ſo far as to invite ladies to meet him at ſupper the next day, and whilſt the principal part of the officers were at the play,* he

* The Engliſh had brought with them from New York, a company of players, and the officers themſelves frequently performed the principal characters. —[An excellent trait this for the future hiſtorians of

he put in movement the main body of his forces, which he marched in three columns. The firſt, commanded by General Howe in perſon, took the direct road to Barrenhill, paſſing by *Schuylkill Falls*, and keeping along the river; the ſecond, led by General *Grey*, kept the high road of German-Town, and was to fall on M. de la Fayette's left flank; the third, under the orders of General *Grant*, made a long circuit, marching firſt by Frankfort, then turning upon Oxford, to reach the only ford by which the Americans could retreat.

This complicated march, was executed the more eaſily, as the Engliſh had poſitive intelligence that the militia did not occupy the poſt aſſigned them. Fortunately for M. de la Fayette, two officers had ſet out early from the camp to go into the Jerſeys, where they had buſineſs; theſe officers having ſucceſſively fallen in with two columns

the civil war, as well as the *meſchianza*, that illuſtrious act of folly and infatuation; facts truly characteriſtic of the diſſipation, and decline of a great people. TRANSLATOR.]

columns of the enemy, reſolved to return to the camp through the woods, as quick as poſſible. General Howe's column was not long in reaching the advanced poſts of M. de la Fayette; which gave riſe to a laughable enough adventure. The fifty ſavages he had with him, were placed in an ambuſcade, in the woods, after their manner, that is to ſay, lying as cloſe as rabbits. Fifty Engliſh dragoons, who had never ſeen any Indians, marching at the head of the column, entered the wood where they were hid, who on their part had never ſeen dragoons. Up they ſtart, raiſing a horrible cry, throw down their arms, and eſcape by ſwimming acroſs the Schuylkill. The dragoons, on the other hand, as much terrified as they were, turned about their horſes, and did not recover their panic 'till they got back to Philadelphia. M. de la Fayette, now finding that he was turned, concluded very juſtly like a warrior, that the column marched againſt him would not be the firſt to make the attack, and that it would wait till the other was in readineſs. He imme-

diately changed his front, therefore, and took a good poſition oppoſite the ſecond column, having before him Barrenhill Church, and behind him the opening which ſerved as a retreat. But he had ſcarcely occupied this poſition, before he learnt that General Grant was on his march to the Schuylkill Ford, and was already nearer to it than himſelf. Nothing remained but to retreat: but the only road he had, made him approach the column of General Grant, and expoſed him to be attacked by it in front, whilſt Grey and Howe fell upon his rear. The road, 'tis true, ſoon turning to the left, became ſeparated by a ſmall valley from that General Grant was on, but this valley itſelf was croſſed by ſeveral roads, and it muſt, in ſhort, be traverſed to reach the Ford. In this ſituation, his own greatneſs of mind alone ſuggeſted to the young ſoldier the proper conduct, as well as conſummate experience could poſſibly have done. He knew that more honour is loſt, than time gained, in converting a *retreat* into a *flight*. He continued his march, therefore, in ſo tranquil and regular an order, that he im-

poſed

poſed on General Grant, and made him believe, that he was ſuſtained by Waſhington's whole army, which was waiting for him at the end of the defile. On the other hand, Howe himſelf, on arriving on the heights of Barrenhill, was deceived by the firſt manœuvre of M. de la Fayette; for ſeeing the Americans in line of battle, on the very ſpot where the ſecond column was to appear, he imagined it was General Grey who had got poſſeſſion of this poſition, and thus loſt ſome minutes in looking through his glaſs, and in ſending to reconnoitre. General Grey alſo loſt time in waiting for the right and left columns. From all theſe miſtakes it followed, that M. de la Fayette had the opportunity of effecting his retreat, as if by enchantment, and he paſſed the river with all his artillery without loſing a man. Six alarm guns, which were fired at the army, on the firſt news of this attack, ſerved, I believe, to keep the enemy in awe, who imagined the whole American army were in march. The Engliſh, after finding the bird flown, returned to Philadelphia, ſpent with fatigue, and aſhamed of having

done

done nothing. The ladies did not ſee M. de la Fayette, and General Howe himſelf arrived too late for ſupper.

In reciting this affair, I give at the ſame time an account of my ride, for I followed the exact road of the left column, which leads to Schuylkill Falls, where there is a ſort of ſcattered village, compoſed of ſeveral beautiful country houſes; amongſt others, that of the Chevalier de la Luzerne.* A ſmall

* The beautiful banks of the Schuylkill are every where covered with elegant country houſes; amongſt others thoſe of Mr. *Penn*, the late proprietor, Mr. *Hamilton*, and Mr. *Peters*, late Secretary to the Board of War, are on the moſt delightful ſituations. The taſty little box of the laſt gentleman is on the moſt enchanting ſpot that Nature can embelliſh, and beſides the variegated beauties of the rural banks of the Schuylkill, commands the Delaware, and the ſhipping, mounting and deſcending it, where it is joined at right angles by the former. From hence is the moſt romantic ride up the river to the Falls, in which the oppoſite bank is likewiſe ſeen beautifully interſperſed with the country houſes of the opulent citizens of the capital. On your arrival at the Falls, every little knowl or eminence is occupied by one of theſe charming retreats; amongſt which General *Miffling*'s ſtands conſpicuous, nor is the exterior belied by the neatneſs, the abundance, and hoſpitality which reign

ſmall creek which falls into the Schuylkill, the height of ten or twelve feet, the mills turned by this creek, the trees which cover its banks, and thoſe of the Schuylkill form a moſt pleaſing landſcape, which would not eſcape the pencil of *Robert* and *Le Prince*.

This

within; the eaſy politeneſs, the attention, good ſenſe, gaiety, and information of the owner; the order, arrangement, and elegance of Mrs. Mifflin, who ſtill adhering to her ſect, which her huſband renounced for "the ear-piercing fife and ſpirit-ſtirring drum," poſſeſſes all its excellencies, and is what a moſt amiable female Quaker ought to be, render this (and I ſpeak from knowledge and gratitude) a moſt delicious abode. Below this houſe, and cloſe to the Falls, is a building erected by Mr. *John Dickinſon*, the celebrated author of the Farmer's Letters, for a ſelect ſociety of friends, who held a weekly meeting there, before the war, during the ſeaſon for eating ſhad. Good humour, harmony, and good ſenſe, are ſaid to have characteriſed theſe meetings, preſided by this eminent and amiable man, whoſe figure, countenance, and manners always reminded me of the urbanity and virtues ſo characteriſtically portrayed in the perſon of the lamented, great, good man, Lord *Rockingham*.

TRANSLATOR.

This expedition not being ſo long as that of the other day, left me two hours at my diſpoſal; and I employed them in viſiting the left of the Engliſh lines which I had not yet ſeen. M. de Gimat was ſo good as to ſeparate from the reſt of the company, and inſtead of returning to Philadelphia, we kept to the right, to follow the lines, as far as the Schuylkill. I found that from the centre, to the left, their poſition was nothing leſs than advantageous, particularly near a burnt houſe, towards which I ſhould have directed my attack had I been in the way of making one. From a ridge of ground, where indeed the Engliſh had formed a ſemicircular battery towards the Schuylkill, the glacis is againſt the lines; ſo that the aſſailant might firſt march under cover, and then command the batteries which defend them. To the left, and cloſe to the Schuylkill, the ground has ſuddenly a very conſiderable riſe, of which the Engliſh did not fail to avail themſelves, by conſtructing a large redoubt, and a battery; but this ſummit itſelf is commanded, and taken in reverſe by the heights on the other

other ſide of the river. Be this as it may, theſe works were ſufficient to ſecure an army of fifteen thouſand men, againſt one of ſeven or at moſt eight thouſand. At every ſtep one takes in America, one is aſtoniſhed at the ſtriking contraſt between the contempt in which the Engliſh affected to hold their enemies, and the extreme precautions they took on every occaſion.

Nothing can equal the beauties of the coup d'œil which the banks of the Schuylkill preſent, in deſcending towards the ſouth to return to Philadelphia.

I found a pretty numerous company aſſembled at dinner at the Chevalier de la Luzerne's, which was augmented by the arrival of the Comte de Cuſtine and the M. de Laval. In the evening we took them to ſee the Preſident of the Congreſs, who was not at home, and then to Mr. Peter's the Secretary to the Board of War, to whom it was my firſt viſit. His houſe is not large, nor his office of great importance; for every thing which is not in the power of the General of the Army, depends on each particular ſtate, much more than on Congreſs; but

but he poſſeſſes what is preferable to all the departments in the world, an amiable wife, [the Marquis might have added, *very beautiful*] excellent health, a good voice, and great gaiety and humour. We converſed ſome time together, and he ſpoke of the American army with as much freedom as good ſenſe. He confeſſed that formerly their army knew no diſcipline, and he inſiſted ſtrongly on the obligations they owed to the *Baron de Soeuben*, who performed the duties of Inſpector-General. Paſſing then to the eulogium of Meſſieurs de Fleury, du Portal, and all the French officers who had ſerved in the late campaigns, he obſerved, that thoſe who offered their ſervice in the beginning, had not given a very advantageous idea of their country. They were almoſt all furniſhed, however, with letters of recommendation from the Governors or Commandants of our colonies; in which they ſeem to me very reprehenſible. The weakneſs which prevents men from refuſing a letter of recommendation, or the deſire of getting rid of a good for nothing fellow, continually gets the better of juſ-

tice and good faith; we deceive, we expoſe the reputation of our allies, but we ſtill more eſſentially betray the intereſts of our country, whoſe honour and character are thus ſhamefully proſtituted.

I ſhall only ſpeak of Mr. *Price*, with whom we drank tea and ſpent the evening, to bear witneſs to the generoſity of this gallant man, who, born in Canada and always attached to the French, lent two hundred thouſand livres, *hard money*, to M. de Corny, whom the court had ſent with fifty thouſand livres only, to make proviſion for our army.

The 13th, I went with the Chevalier de Luzerne, and the French travellers, to dine with the Southern Delegates.* Meſſieurs

* The Marquis de Chaſtellux ſeems unfortunately to have known but little of the Southern Delegates, particularly thoſe of *South Carolina*, whom, without any invidious compariſon, he would have found men of the greateſt liberality and underſtanding: as firm in their principles, and as ready to hazard their lives in the defence of their liberty, as the moſt zealous inhabitant of New England; they poſſeſſed, in general, all the taſte, urbanity, and enlightened knowledge of poliſhed Europe. In Mr.

ſieurs *Sharp*, *Flowy*,† and *Maddiſon*, were the neareſt to me; I converſed a great deal with them, and was much ſatisfied with

Ramſay, he would have found a cultivated underſtanding, a perſevering mind, and an active enthuſiaſm, founded on a thorough knowledge of the cauſe he was engaged in, and the moſt perfect conviction of its rectitude. In Mr. *Izard*, the fire and zeal of a gentleman republican, filled with indignation at the violence and exceſſes he had *witneſſed* in the Engliſh Government. In Mr. *Rutledge*, a manly, principled determination to riſk and ſuffer every thing, rather than again ſubmit to the yoke of Britain, with elegant ideas of the enjoyments of life, and all the domeſtic virtues. In Mr. *Arthur Middleton*, the plaineſt manners, with the moſt refined taſte; great reading, and knowledge of the world, concealed under the reſerve of the mildeſt, and moſt modeſt nature; a compleat philanthropiſt, but the firmeſt patriot; cool, ſteady, and unmoved at the general wreck of property and fortune, as far as he was perſonally concerned, but with a heart melting for the ſuffering and woes of others. He would have found him, in ſhort, a model of private worth, and public virtue, a good citizen, a good father, and an exemplary huſband, accompliſhed in the letters, in the ſciences, and fine arts, well acquainted with the manners and the courts of Europe, from whence he has tranſplanted to his country nothing but their embelliſhments and virtues. I ſpeak of him with enthuſiaſm, for he really excited my admiration. He

their converſation. But I was ſtill more ſo with that I had in the afternoon at Mrs. *Meredith*'s, General *Cadwallader*'s daughter: this was the firſt time I had ſeen this amiable family, although the Chevalier de la Luzerne was very intimate with them; but they had only juſt arrived from the country, where General Cadwallader was ſtill detained by buſineſs. It is this gentleman who had a duel with Mr. Chace, formerly a Delegate for Maryland, and ſeverely wounded him in the jaw with a piſtol ſhot. Mrs. Meredith has three or four ſiſters, or ſiſters-in-law. I was aſtoniſhed at the freedom and gaiety which reigned in this family, and regretted not having known them ſooner. I chattered more, particularly with Mrs. Meredith, who appeared

had made a handſome collection of paintings when in Italy, and on his travels, which were mutilated and deſtroyed by the ruffian hands of the European ſavages, who took poſſeſſion of his houſe in Carolina. TRANSLATOR.

† There muſt be an error in this name, but as the Tranſlator can find no ſimilitude between it, and that of any of the Southern Delegates, he has inſerted it literally. TRANSLATOR.

peared to me very amiable and well informed. In the courſe of an hour we talked of literature, poetry, romances, and above all, hiſtory; I found ſhe knew that of France very well; the compariſon between Francis I. and Henry IV, between Turenne and Condé, Richelieu and Mazarine, ſeemed familiar to her, and ſhe made them with much grace, wit and underſtanding. Whilſt I was talking with Mrs. Meredith, Mr. Lynch had got poſſeſſion of Miſs Polly Cadwallader, who had likewiſe made a conqueſt of him, inſomuch that the Chevalier de la Luzerne was much entertained at the enthuſiaſm with which this company had inſpired us, and the regret we expreſſed at not having became ſooner acquainted with them. It muſt be acknowledged, with regard to the ladies who compoſe it, that none of them is what may be called handſome; this mode of expreſſion is, perhaps, a little too circuitous for the American women, but if they have wit enough to comprehend, and good ſenſe enough to be flattered with it, their eulogium will be compleat.

I know not how it happened, that ſince my arrival in Philadelphia, I had not yet ſeen *Mr. Payne*, that author ſo celebrated in America, and throughout Europe, by his excellent work, entitled, *Common Senſe*, and ſeveral other political pamphlets. Mr. de la Fayette and I had aſked the permiſſion of an interview for the 14th in the morning, and we waited on him accordingly with Colonel Laurens. I diſcovered, at his apartments, all the attributes of a man of letters; a room pretty much in diſorder, duſty furniture, and a large table covered with books lying open, and manuſcripts begun. His perſon was in a correſpondent dreſs, nor did his phyſiognomy belie the ſpirit that reigns throughout his works. Our converſation was agreeable and animated, and ſuch as to form a connexion between us, for he has written to me ſince my departure, and ſeems deſirous of maintaining a conſtant correſpondence. His exiſtence at Philadelphia is ſimilar to that of thoſe political writers in England, who have obtained nothing, and have neither credit enough in the ſtate, nor ſufficient political weight to obtain a part

in

in the affairs of government. Their works are read with more curioſity than confidence, their projects being regarded rather as the play of imagination, than as well concerted plans, and ſufficient in credit ever to produce any real effect: theirs is always conſidered as the work of an individual, and not that of a party; information may be drawn from them, but not conſequences; accordingly we obſerve, that the influence of theſe authors is more felt in the ſatirical, than in the dogmatical ſtyle, as it is eaſier for them to decry other men's opinions than to eſtabliſh their own. This is more the caſe with Mr. Payne than any body; for having formerly held a poſt in government, he has now no connexion with it; and as his patriotiſm and his talents are unqueſtionable, it is natural to conclude that the vivacity of his imagination, and the independence of his character, render him more calculated for reaſoning on affairs, than for conducting them *. Another literary man,

as

* Mr. Payne has ſince written a very intereſting pamphlet on the finances of America, entitled, *the Criſis*; an anſwer to the Hiſtory of the American

as much reſpected, though leſs celebrated, expected us at dinner; this was Mr. Wilſon, whom

Revolution by the Abbé Raynal; and ſeveral other works, which confirm the reputation he ſo juſtly acquired by his firſt production.———[The author is inaccurate in this particular, *the Criſis* was a ſort of periodical publication, many numbers of which had appeared previous even to the arrival of the French army in America, and was adapted by Mr. Payne to every great houſe, or criſis of the government, whether favourable, or unfavourable; either to urge to energy, and as a ſpur againſt ſupineneſs, or to give a countenance to misfortune, and ſtimulate to freſh exertions; the ſubject of finance was only the occaſional topic of *one number* of the Criſis, and ſo great was the weight of this writer, whoſe ſituation was very different indeed from that of an Engliſh pamphleteer, however ingenious the compariſon, that on great emergencies, where almoſt deſpondency might be looked for, the whole continent waited with ſuſpence for conſolation and council from *Common Senſe*, his general appellation. His productions were inſtantly publiſhed in every town, of every ſtate, (for every town has a newſpaper) on grey, brown, yellow, and black, but ſeldom on white paper, a very rare commodity; the people took freſh courage, and, "have you read *the Criſis*," was the ſpecific againſt every political apprehenſion. In ſhort, never was a writer better calculated for the meridian under which he wrote, or who knew how to adapt himſelf more happily to every circumſtance. Con-

whom I have already mentioned: his houſe and library are in the beſt order; he gave us an excellent dinner, and received us with a plain and eaſy politeneſs. Mrs. Wilſon did the honours of the table with all poſſible attention; but we were particularly ſenſible to the mark of it ſhe gave us, by retiring after the deſert, for then the dinner aſſumed an air of gaiety. Mr. Peters, the miniſter at war, gave the ſignal of joy and liberty by favouring us with a ſong of his compoſition, ſo jolly, and ſo free, that I ſhall diſpenſe with giving either a tranſlation, or an extract. This was really a very excellent ſong. He then ſung another more chaſte, and more muſical; a very fine

ſidering the wonderful effect of his pamphlet of Common Senſe, known to every man in America, and the univerſal aſcendency he had juſtly acquired over the minds of the people, it is impoſſible, in a general diſtribution of caſes, to appreciate the ſhare Mr. Payne had in producing this momentous revolution. It were the height of injuſtice, and ingratitude, to rob him of that ſhare of glory, which if not his only, is at leaſt his nobleſt recompence.

TRANSLATOR]

Italian

Italian *contabile*. †Mr. Peters is, unqueſtionably, the Miniſter of the two worlds, who has the beſt voice, and who ſings the beſt, the pathetic and the *bouffon*. I was told that the preceding year there were ſome private concerts at Philadelphia, where he ſung, amongſt other pieces of comic operas, a burleſque part in a very pleaſant trio, by himſelf, which he ſeaſoned with all the humorous ſtrokes uſual on ſuch occaſions, and afforded the higheſt amuſement to the company, ſo that this was not the time for ſaying, *one cannot loſe a kingdom more gaily*, but, *it is impoſſible to be more gay in forming a republic*. After this, conclude from particulars to generals, judge of whole nations by one ſpecimen, and eſtabliſh principles without exceptions!

The aſſembly, or ſubſcription ball, of which I muſt give an account, may here be properly introduced. At Philadelphia, as at London, Bath, Spa, &c. there are places

† So varied and univerſal are the talents of Mr. Peters, and he is ſo excellent a companion, that it is not ſaying too much, to add, that he would form the delight of any ſociety in Europe.

TRANSLATOR.

places appropriated for the young people to dance in, and where thoſe whom that amuſement does not ſuit, play at different games of cards; but at Philadelphia, games of commerce are alone allowed. A *manager*, or maſter of ceremonies preſides at theſe methodical amuſements: he preſents to the gentlemen and ladies, dancers, billets folded up containing each a number; thus fate decides the male or female partner for the whole evening. All the dances are previouſly arranged, and the dancers are called in their turns. Theſe dances, like the *toaſts* we drink at table, have ſome relation to politics: one is called *the ſucceſs of the campaign*, another, *the defeat of Burgoyne*, and a third, *Clinton's retreat*. The managers are generally choſen from amongſt the moſt diſtinguiſhed officers of the army; this important place is at preſent held by Colonel *Wilkinſon*, who is alſo clothier general of the army. Colonel *Mitchell*, a little fat, ſquat man, fifty years old, a great judge of horſes, and who was lately contractor for carriages, both for the American and French armies, was formerly the manager;

nager; but when I ſaw him, he had deſcended from the magiſtracy, and danced like a private citizen. He is ſaid to have exerciſed his office with great ſeverity, and it is told of him, that a young lady who was figuring in a country dance, having forgot her turn by converſing with a friend, he came up to her, and called out aloud, *give over, Miſs, take care what you are about; Do you think you come here for your pleaſure?*

The aſſembly I went to on leaving Mr. Wilſon, was the ſecond of the Winter. I was apprized that it would be neither numerous nor brilliant, for at Philadelphia, as at Paris, the beſt company ſeldom go to the balls before Chriſtmas. On entering the room however, I found twenty, or five and twenty ladies ready for dancing. It was whiſpered me, that having heard a great deal of the Vicomte de Noailles, and the Comte de Damas, they were come with the hopes of having them for partners; but they were compleatly diſappointed, thoſe gentlemen having ſet out that very morning, I ſhould have been diſappointed alſo, had I expected to ſee pretty women. There

were

were only two paſſable, one of whom, called Miſs *Footman*, was rather contreband, that is to ſay, ſuſpected of not being a very good whig, for the tory ladies are publicly excluded from this aſſembly. I was here preſented to a ridiculous enough perſonage, but who plays her part in the town; a Miſs *Viny*, celebrated for her coquettry, her wit and her ſarcaſtic diſpoſition: ſhe is thirty, and does not ſeem on the point of marriage. In the mean time ſhe applies red, white, blue, and all poſſible colours, affects an extraordinary mode of dreſſing her hair and perſon, and, a ſtaunch whig in every point, ſhe ſets no bounds to her liberty.

I intended leaving Philadelphia the 15th, but the Preſident of the State, who is alſo Preſident of the Academy, was ſo good as to invite me to a meeting of that body to be held that day. It was the more difficult for me to refuſe his invitation, as it was propoſed to elect me a foreign member. The meetings are held only once a fortnight, and the elections take place but once a year: every candidate muſt be preſented and recommended by a member of the acade-

my; after which recommendation his name is placed up during three ſucceeding ſittings, in the hall of the academy, and the election is at length proceeded to by ballot. I had only heard of mine three days before. It was unanimous, which very rarely happens. M. de la Fayette himſelf, who was elected at the ſame time, had one black ball againſt him, but it was thought to have been an accident. Out of one and twenty candidates, only ſeven were choſen, altho' the others had been ſtrongly recommended, and there were ſeveral vacancies.

As the ſittings of the academy did not begin 'till ſeven in the evening, I employed my morning in paying viſits, after which I dined at Mr. *Holker's*, * with the Chevalier de

* Mr. Holker, the ſon of the Chevalier Holker, died a few months ago at Rouen, who being condemned to die for acting as an officer in the Manchester regiment, in the rebellion of 1745, made his eſcape from priſon, and fled to France, where he was tempted by the government to eſtabliſh the Manchester manufactory; this he repeatedly refuſed, until, from the wretched policy of Mr. Pelham and other Miniſters to whom he repreſented the offers held out to him, with a requeſt of his pardon, he

de la Luzerne, M. de la Fayette, and all the French officers: from thence I went to the academy

was driven to accept of the propoſals of the French court. England knows too well, at this hour, the ſucceſs with which his endeavours have been crowned. On the arrival of the American commiſſioners in France, Mr. Holker was among the firſt, and moſt zealous in his offers of every aſſiſtance in his power, and entered into the moſt intimate connexion with them. In 1777 his ſon was ſent to Paris to be near Dr. Franklin, and had many opportunities of rendering eſſential ſervices. In 1778 he went out to America with Monſieur Gerard the firſt French Ambaſſador, in D'Eſtaing's ſquadron, as Conſul General of France. He had not been long in the country before he entered into very advantageous commercial ſpeculations, jointly with his father's countryman, Mr. Robert Morris, and by means of his ſituation as Conſul, had many opportunities of ſhipping flour, &c. under permiſſions for the French fleet, in the time of a general and ſtrict embargo; he ſpeculated largely too in paper money, with which he purchaſed, for almoſt nothing, a very handſome houſe at Philadelphia, and an elegant country houſe, and eſtate a few miles from that city. Mr. Holker diſplayed, during the whole war, a taſte and luxury hitherto ſtrangers in America; his houſe was the reſort of all the firſt people on the Continent, and after the arrival of the French army, of all their officers of diſtinction. The French court however, on ſome repreſentations of the Chevalier de la Lu-

academy accompanied by M. Marbois, a member of that body, as well as M. de la Luzerne,

zerne, thought fit to prohibit their Conſuls from all private commerce, a wiſe regulation univerſally eſtabliſhed by them; and Mr. Holker preferring the advantages of trade, to thoſe of his office, reſigned the latter, about the beginning of 1781, which for ſome time occaſioned a coolneſs between the Miniſter and him; he had likewiſe a difference with Mr. Morris on ſettling their accounts to a very large amount, which has detained him in America, ſince the peace; but, if am rightly informed, it is at length terminated. In 1777, I ſupped with Mr. Deane, *then* a ſtrenuous friend to his country, on his return from Havre de Grace; where he told me, that on giving the uſual toaſts of "the Congreſs," &c. after dinner, the old gentleman could not forbear reflecting on the mutability of human affairs, and that he who was an exile, and had nearly ſuffered death for his zealous attachment to the cauſe of arbitrary monarchy, ſhould now be as ardent in his wiſhes for the ſucceſs of the moſt pure democracy that had ever been propoſed to human underſtanding. And in fact this is more ſtriking, as the moſt ſtrenuous ſupporters of the American war were found in Scotland, and his native town of Mancheſter; in the very ſeat, and ſources of rebellion againſt liberty; in the perſons of the very actors, in the attempt to overthrow the Engliſh conſtitution, and dethrone the Brunſwick family. TRANSLATOR.

Luzerne, who having other buſineſs, excuſed himſelf from attending me, but left me in very good hands. Mr. Marbois, unites to all political and ſocial qualities, a great deal of literature, and a perfect knowledge of the Engliſh language. The aſſembly conſiſted of only fourteen or fifteen perſons; the Preſident of the college performed the office of Secretary. A memoir was read on a ſingular plant, a native of the country; the Secretary then gave an account of correſpondence and read a letter, the object of which was, for the academy of Philadelphia to aſſociate with, or rather adopt ſeveral learned ſocieties which are forming in each State. This project tended to make of this academy a ſort of literary congreſs, with which the particular legiſlatures ſhould keep a correſpondence, but it was not thought proper to adopt this idea; the members ſeeming to be afraid of the trouble inſeparable from all theſe adoptions, and the academy not wiſhing to make the following lines of Racine's *Athalie* applicable to them:

D'Où lui viennent de tous côtés
Ces enfans qu'en ſon ſein elle n'a pas portés!

I returned as ſoon as poſſible to the Chevalier de la Luzerne's, to have a ſtill further enjoyment of that ſociety which had conſtituted my happineſs for the laſt fortnight: for it is unqueſtionably a very great one, to live with a man whoſe amiable and mild character never varies on any occaſion; whoſe converſation is agreeable and inſtructive, and whoſe eaſy and unaffected politeneſs is the genuine expreſſion of the beſt diſpoſition. But however allowable it may be to declare one's own ſentiments, when dictated by juſtice and gratitude, there is always a ſort of perſonality in regarding public men only as they reſpect their connexions with ourſelves: it is to the King's Miniſter, in America; it is to a man who moſt ably fills a moſt important poſt, that I owe my teſtimony and my praiſes. I ſhall ſay, without fear of contradiction, that the Chevalier de la Luzerne is ſo formed for the ſtation he occupies, that one would be led to imagine no other could fill it but

himſelf; noble in his expences, like the miniſter of a great monarchy, but as plain in his manners as a republican, he is equally proper to repreſent the King with Congreſs, or the Congreſs with the King. He loves the Americans, and his own inclination attaches him to the duties of his adminiſtration; he has accordingly obtained their confidence, both as a private and a public man; but in both theſe reſpects he is equally inacceſſible to the ſpirit of party, which reigns but too much around him: whence it reſults, that he is anxiouſly courted by all parties, and that, by eſpouſing none, he manages them all.

It was the 16th of December that I quitted the excellent winter quarters I had with him, and turned my face towards the north, to ſeek after the traces of General Gates and General Burgoyne, amidſt heaps of ſnow. I had ſent forward my horſes to Briſtol, where I was conveyed in a carriage which the Chevalier de la Luzerne was ſo kind as to lend me. By this means I arrived there time enough to reach Prince-Town that night, but not before it was dark, leaving behind me ſome of my ſervants and horſes.

The detail of my daily occupations having prevented me from giving a general idea of Philadelphia, I muſt, on quitting it, take a retroſpective view, and conſider at once its preſent ſtate and the deſtiny which ſeems to await it. In obſerving its geographical ſituation, we may readily admit that *Penn* proceeded upon no erroneous idea, when he conceived his plan of making it one day the capital of America. Two large rivers,* which take their riſe in the neighbourhood of *Lake Ontario*, convey to it the riches of all the interior parts of the country, and at length, by their junction conſiderably higher up, form a magnificent port at this city. This port is at once far enough from the ſea to ſhelter it from every inſult; and ſo near, as to render it as eaſy of acceſs as if ſituated on the ſhore of the ocean. The Schuylkill, which runs to the weſt of Philadelphia, and

* The two branches of the Delaware form two conſiderable rivers, the ſources of which are diſtant ſeveral miles from each other, but they are only diſtinguiſhed by the names of the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern Branches*.

and nearly parallel with the Delaware, is rather ornamental than uſeful to this city and its commerce. This river, though wide and beautiful near its conflux, is not navigable for boats, on account of its ſhallow and rocky bed. Philadelphia, placed between theſe two rivers, on a neck of land only three miles broad, ought to fill up this ſpace, but commerce has given it another turn. The regular plan of William Penn has been followed, but the buildings are along the Delaware, for the convenience of being near the warehouſes and ſhipping. *Front-ſtreet*, which is parallel with the river, is near three miles long, out of which open upwards of two hundred quays, forming ſo many views terminated by veſſels of different ſizes.* I could eaſily

* The author has by no means given an adequate idea of Philadelphia, which, however, has ſo often been deſcribed as to render it leſs neceſſary; but as he names only one ſtreet extending along the river, it may be proper to obſerve, that parallel with Front-ſtreet, are *ſecond*, *third*, *fourth*, *fifth* and *ſixth* ſtreets; theſe are interſected at right angles by *Arch* ſtreet, *State* ſtreet, *Market* ſtreet, &c. &c. the latter, which is of a great breadth, and length, and cuts the centre

form an idea of the commerce of Philadelphia, from ſeeing above three hundred veſſels in the harbour, though the Engliſh had not left a ſingle bark in it in 1778. Two years tranquillity, and, above all, the diverſion made by our ſquadron at Rhode Iſland, have ſufficed to collect this great number

of the city, would be one of the fineſt ſtreets in the world, were it not for the market ſituated in the middle of it; but the upper part is occupied by the houſes of opulent citizens, and will in time become truly noble. It may be added, that ſo far from the buildings following the river, they are extended rapidly towards the common, where many new ſtreets were marked out and begun in 1782; and it may ſafely be predicted, that if the trade of Philadelphia continue to flouriſh, the plan of *William Penn* will be accompliſhed, judging from the very rapid progreſs of the paſt, at no very diſtant period, and the ground be covered with, perhaps, the nobleſt of modern cities, extending from the Delaware to the Schuylkill. This will be accelerated too, by the ſale of the common, which was taken by the Aſſembly from the proprietor, Mr John Penn, at the beginning of the revolution; with the reſt of the proprietary eſtate, in conſideration of a certain ſum, and diſpoſed of in lots to the beſt bidders.

TRANSLATOR.

number of veſſels, the ſucceſs of which in privateering, as well as in trade, have filled the warehouſes with goods, inſomuch that purchaſers alone are wanting. The wiſdom of the legiſlative council, however, has not correſponded with the advantages laviſhed by Nature. Penſylvania is very far from being the beſt governed of the United States. Expoſed, more than others, to the convulſions of credit, and to the manœuvres of ſpeculation, the inſtability of the public wealth has operated on the legiſlation itſelf. An attempt was made to fix the value of the paper currency, but commodities augmented in price, in proportion as money loſt its value; a reſolution was then taken to fix the price alſo of commodities which almoſt produced a famine. A more recent error of the government, was the law prohibiting the exportation of corn. The object they had in view, was on one hand to ſupply the American army at a cheaper rate, and on the other, to put a ſtop to the contraband trade between Philadelphia and New York; the ruin of the farmers and the ſtate was the reſult,

which could no longer obtain payment of the taxes. This law is juſt repealed, ſo that I hope agriculture will reſume its vigour, and commerce receive an increaſe. Corn ſent to the army will be ſomething dearer, but there will be more money to pay for it; and ſhould there be ſome ſmuggling with New York, Engliſh money will circulate amongſt their enemies.*

It

* The votes of the Houſe of Commons, and the account of Meſſieurs Drummond and Harley, will ſhew the immenſe ſums, in Portugal and Spaniſh gold alone, ſent to America; theſe, as well as Engliſh guineas, found their way, towards the middle period of the war, in great abundance into the American part of the continent, where they circulated in a variety of mutilated forms, the moidores, and ſix-and-thirties, had all of them holes punched in them, or were otherwiſe diminiſhed at New York, before they were ſuffered to paſs the lines; from whence they obtained the name of *Robertſon's*, in the *rebel* country; but the profits, if any, of that commander, on this new edition of the coin, remain a ſecret.—In the country, almoſt all the ſpecie of every denomination was cut by individuals, and appeared under the forms of half, quarter, and eighth parts, the latter of which received the name of *ſharp ſhins*; by this arbitrary diviſion of the money, which was never weighed, great frauds were inevitable.

TRANSLATOR.

It were greatly to be wiſhed that paper might at length obtain an eſtabliſhed credit, no matter what value; for it ſignifies little whether the price of a ſheep be repreſented by one hundred and fifty paper dollars, or two dollars in ſpecie. This depreciation of the paper is not felt in thoſe places where it remains the ſame; but Philadelphia is, ſo to ſpeak, the great ſink, wherein all the ſpeculations of America terminate, and are confounded together. Since the capture of Charles Town, many of the inhabitants of Carolina haſtily ſold their eſtates and crops, and having only been paid in paper, they brought this article with them to Philadelphia already overſtocked with it.* The Quakers

* The wonderful reſources derived in the commencement from this paper money, its extraordinary depreciation, and total diſappearance without producing any great ſhock, or convulſion in an infant country, ſtruggling with a complication of difficulties, will certainly form an epocha in the general hiſtory of finances, as well as in that of this great revolution. I ſaw *hundreds of millions* of paper dollars piled up, effaced, in the office of Congreſs at Philadelphia, which, never poſſeſſing any real value, had ſerved all the purpoſes of a difficult, and uncommonly expenſive war, and were now quietly laid

Quakers and Tories, on the other hand, with which this province abounds, two claſſes

aſide, with ſcarce a murmur on the part of the public; the variety of the depreciation, at different periods, and in different parts of the Continent, whilſt it gave riſe to great temporary abuſes, had been ſo divided, and balanced, by alternate profit and loſs amongſt all claſſes of citizens, that on caſting up the account, ſome very unfortunate caſes excepted, it ſeems to have operated only as a general tax on the public; and the univerſal joy on its annihilation, with the ſatisfactory reflection on the neceſſity under which it was iſſued in the critical moment of danger, ſeemed to conciliate all minds, to a total oblivion of its partial miſchief. Here and there great fortunes are to be ſeen, reared upon its now viſionary baſis, and families reduced from opulence to mediocrity by means of this deſtructive medium, but theſe inſtances are by no means ſo frequent as they have been repreſented in Europe, and were often the reſult of ill judged, but avaricious ſpeculations; but I repeat it, that the continued uſe, the general circulation, the aſtoniſhing depreciation, and total deſtruction of ſuch an immenſe imaginary property, will always exhibit a phœnomenon infinitely more ſtriking, than that a few, or even a great number of individuals ſhould have ſuffered, as muſt always be the caſe in every civil commotion. The fact is unparalleled, and will probably ſtand ſingle in the annals of the world. TRANSLATOR.

claſſes of men equally dangerous, one from their timidity, and the other from their bad intentions, are inceſſantly labouring to ſecure their fortune; they laviſh the paper for a little gold or ſilver, to enable them to remove wherever they may think themſelves in ſafety; from theſe reaſons, the paper money is more and more decried, not only becauſe it is too common, but becauſe gold and ſilver are extremely ſcarce, and difficult to be obtained.

In the midſt of theſe convulſions the government is without force, nor can it be otherwiſe. A popular government can never have any, whilſt the people are unſteady, and fluctuating in their opinions; for then the leaders rather ſeek to pleaſe, than ſerve them; obliged to gain their confidence before they merit it, they are more inclined to flatter, than inſtruct them, and fearing to loſe the favour they have acquired, they finiſh by becoming the ſlaves of the multitude whom they pretended to govern. Mr. Franklin has been blamed for giving too democratical a government to his country, but they who cenſure him do

do not reflect that the firſt ſtep was to make her renounce monarchical government, and that it was neceſſary to employ a ſort of ſeduction in order to conduct a timid and avaricious people to independence, who were beſides ſo divided in their opinions, that the republican party was ſcarcely ſtronger than the other. Under theſe circumſtances he acted like *Solon*; he has not given the beſt poſſible laws to Penſylvania, but the beſt of which the country was ſuſceptible. Time will produce perfection: in pleading to recover an eſtate, the firſt object is to obtain poſſeſſion, the reſt follows of courſe.*

Philadelphia

* The author might have added in corroboration of his argument, that the conſtitution of Penſylvania is, for this reaſon, only a conſtitution of experiment, from ſeven years to ſeven years, in which it is expreſſly reſerved to a *Council of Cenſors*, to reviſe the paſt operations of government, to judge of the effects produced from it as then conſtituted, and to call a *general convention of the people*, for the purpoſe of amending the deficient parts, and of correcting its exuberancies and vices. It is a glorious experiment, worthy the philanthropic heart, and the enlightened underſtanding of DOCTOR FRANKLIN, —*Quod felix, fauſtumque ſit!* TRANSLATOR.

Philadelphia contains about forty thouſand inhabitants. The ſtreets are large and regular, and interſect each other at right angles. There are footways here, as in London, for the paſſengers. This city has every uſeful eſtabliſhment, ſuch as hoſpitals, workhouſes, houſes of correction, &c. but it is ſo deficient in an eſſential article of comfort and enjoyment, that there is not a ſingle public walk.* The reaſon of this is, that hitherto every thing concerning the police, and particular government of the city has been in the hands of the

* The city of Philadelphia is not only at preſent deſtitute of public walks, but, in ſummer, the heat renders walking in the ſtreets intolerably inconvenient; the houſes and footpaths being generally of brick, are not even cooled until ſome hours after ſunſet. This extreme heat, and the abundance of excellent water, with which Philadelphia is ſupplied, occaſion many accidents among the lower claſs of people, for it is no uncommon thing to ſee a labourer after quenching his thirſt at a pump, drop down dead upon the ſpot, nor can the numerous examples of this kind every ſummer, prevent them from frequently occurring; but it is to be obſerved, that if the heat be intenſe, the water is uncommonly cold.

TRANSLATOR.

the Quakers, and theſe ſectaries conſider every ſpecies of private or public amuſement as a tranſgreſſion of their law, and as a *pomp of Satan*. Fortunately, the little zeal, (to ſay no more) they have diſplayed on the preſent criſis, has made them loſe their credit. This revolution comes very opportunely, at a time when the public has derived every benefit from them they could expect; the walls of the houſe are finiſhed, it is time to call in the carpenters and upholſterers.

It is time alſo for me to return to Prince Town, to continue my journey to Albany, by New Windſor, General Waſhington's head quarters. I intended ſetting out early on the 17th; it was neceſſary, in fact, to be alert, that I might reach Morris Town, but my baggage horſe not being able to paſs the Delaware, at the ſame time with myſelf, I left one of my people to wait for, and conduct him. It ſo happened that neither the ſervant I was waiting for, nor the other arrived. One of the ſervants was an Iriſhman, the other a German, both newly entered into my ſervice. As

ſoon

ſoon as I ſaw the morning of the 17th approach, without their making their appearance, the neighbourhood of New York began to give me ſome uneaſineſs. I was apprehenſive they might have taken that road with my little baggage, and I was already making diſpoſitions to purſue them, when, to my great ſatisfaction, I ſaw the head of my baggage column appear, that is, one of the three horſes which were left behind, the remainder following ſoon after.*

To

* After Sir Guy Carleton's arrival at New-York with the vote of Parliament to diſcontinue offenſive war, the Tranſlator, who was travelling to the northward, and meant to call on General Waſhington then in camp at Verplanks Point, on the North River, thought he might with ſafety take the lower road by Brunſwick and Elizabeth-Town, but he had not been an hour in bed, before he and his companion, a ſurgeon in the American army, were alarmed by a ſcattering fire of muſquetry. Before they had time to dreſs themſelves, and take their piſtols, the landlord entered their apartment, and informed them, that a party from Staten Iſland was marching towards the town, and adviſed them to make their eſcape; with much difficulty they got their horſes out of the ſtable, hid their baggage in the church-yard, and hearing the Engliſh officer

To paſs the time, however, I entered into converſation with my landlord, Colonel *Howard*,

order his men to *form* at the end of the town, they took different roads, leaving their ſervants, who were, one a Scotch priſoner to the Americans, the other an Engliſh deſerter, and whoſe conduct appeared very ſuſpicious, to take care of themſelves, and the horſes they rode on. The Tranſlator, who followed the great road to Newark, was mounted on a white horſe, which made him a good object, and had ſeveral ſhot fired at him, but the ground riſing, and his horſe going at full gallop, the balls luckily fell ſhort. After endeavouring to rouſe the country, but without being able to collect a ſufficient force, he took ſhelter at an honeſt carpenter's, about a mile from the town, where he remained 'till a little before daybreak, when concluding from the general ſilence, that the party had retired, he returned, and went to ſearch for his baggage in the church-yard, for which however he ſought in vain, and his anxiety was not a little increaſed on not finding his other horſe in the ſtable, nor ſeeing either of the ſervants. But from which he was ſoon relieved by his friend, who had watched the firſt moment of the enemy's departure, ordered the baggage up into his room, and aſſured him that the ſervants had conducted themſelves with the greateſt fidelity. His alarm was, it ſeems, much greater than that of the Tranſlator, as General Waſhington had declared publicly in orders, that any officer of his army, taken near the lines, unleſs

Howard, who is a very good man, and with his ſon the Captain, a great talker, and a genuine *Capitan*. He recounted to me with many geſtures, oaths and imprecations, all his feats of proweſs in the war; eſpecially at the affair of Prince-Town, where he ſerved as a lieutenant of militia in his father's regiment; and indeed the action he boaſted of would have merited an eulogium, had he related it with ſimplicity. We may recollect that after beating the Engliſh, General Waſhington continued his route to-

on duty, ſhould be the laſt exchanged. The Tranſlator imagines the party to have been Refugees from Staten Iſland, who, from their ſeparate inſtitution, under the direction of *a Board*, not unfrequently ſet at defiance the orders of the Commander in Chief; a remarkable inſtance of which occurred in the caſe of Captain Huddy, whom they obtained, under falſe pretences, from the guard-houſe, where he was a priſoner, and murdered without either ſcruple or apprehenſion. All Europe knows the conſequence, in the eminent danger of *Captain Aſgill*; and all America ſaw with ſhame and indignation the Engliſh General unable to enforce diſcipline in his own army, and ſhrinking under the apprehenſions of irritating Governor Franklin, and his envenomed board of Loyaliſts. TRANSLATOR.

wards Middlebrook. An American officer, who had his leg broke by a muſquet ball, was dragged into a houſe, where the Engliſh ſooner or later muſt have found him: young Howard, and ſome ſoldiers as well diſpoſed as himſelf, ſet out at night from Middlebrook, took a circuitous road, arrived at the houſe, found the officer, took him on their ſhoulders and carried him to their quarters. During the remainder of the winter, the Jerſey militia were conſtantly under arms to reſtrain the Engliſh, who occupied Elizabeth-Town and Brunſwick. It was a ſort of continual chace, to which Lieutenant Howard one day led his little brother, a boy of fifteen, and who was lucky enough to begin his career by killing a Heſſian grenadier; as theſe ſtories were very tedious, I ſhall drop them here, for fear of not improving on the narration: I muſt mention however the manner in which my *Capitan* entered into the ſervice, as it will ſerve to diſcover the ſpirit which reigned in America at the beginning of the preſent revolution. He was apprentice to a hatter at the time of the affair of Lexing-

ton, and the blockade of Boſton; three of his companions and himſelf ſet out one morning from Philadelphia with four dollars amongſt them in their pockets: they travelled four hundred miles on foot to join the army, in which they ſerved as volunteers the remainder of the campaign; from thence they ſet out with Arnold on his expedition to Canada, and did not return home till the theatre of war was removed into their own country.

Eleven o'clock had ſtruck before I could rally the horſes in my train, and begin my march; I abandoned therefore the plan of ſleeping at Morris-Town, and determined to ſtop at *Baſkenridge*, eight miles nearer Prince-Town. I firſt left the Millſtone on the right, then croſſed it twice before I reached the Rariton, which I paſſed at the ſame place; as in my journey to Philadelphia. Three miles from thence I was told to take a road to the right, which leads into the woods, and over the ſummit of the hills; this route was opened for the army, during the winter quarters of 1778,-9; it appears to have been made with care, and is

ſtill paſſable; but after ſome time, daylight failing me, I loſt myſelf, and went a mile or two out of my way. Luckily for me, I found a hut inhabited by ſome new ſettlers; there I got a guide who conducted me to Baſkenridge, where I arrived at ſeven o'clock, and alighted at *Bullion*'s *Tavern*, got tolerable lodgings, with the beſt people in the world. Our ſupper was very good: bread only was wanting; but, enquiring of us what ſort we liked, in an hour's time we had ſuch as we deſired. This will appear leſs extraordinary, on being told that in America, little cakes, which are eaſily kneaded and baked in half an hour, are often ſubſtituted for bread. Poſſibly one would ſoon tire of them, but they ſuited my taſte extremely well. Mr. Bullion had two white ſervants, one a man about fifty, the other a woman, younger, with a tolerable good face: I had the curioſity to enquire what wages he gave them, and was told that the man earned half a crown a day and the woman ſix ſhillings a week, or ten pence a day. If we pay attention to the circumſtance, that theſe ſervants are lodged and

fed,

fed, and have no expences, we may ſee that it is eaſy for them very ſhortly to acquire a piece of ground, and to form ſuch a ſettlement as I have deſcribed.

The 18th I ſet out at eight in the morning, and made only one ſtage to Pompton; which is ſix-and-thirty miles, without baiting my horſes or ſtopping, except for a quarter of an hour to pay a viſit to General Wayne, whoſe quarters were on the main road. He was poſted to cover the Jerſeys, and had under his orders the ſame Penſylvania line which revolted a fortnight after. I again ſaw with pleaſure the environs of Morris-Town, which are agreeable and well cultivated; but after paſſing the *Rockaway*, and approaching Pompton, I was aſtoniſhed at the degree of perfection to which agriculture is carried, and particularly admired the farms of Meſſieurs *Mandeville*. They are the ſons of a Dutchman, who firſt cleared the ground from which they now reap ſuch rich harveſts. Their domains join each other. In each of them the manor is very ſimple and ſmall, the barns alone are lofty and ſpacious. Always faithful to their

national œconomy, they cultivate, reap, and ſell, without augmenting either their houſes or their enjoyments; content with living in a corner of their farm, and with being only the ſpectators of their own wealth. By the ſide of theſe old farms we ſee new ſettlements forming, and have more and more reaſon to be convinced, that if the war has retarded the progreſs of agriculture and population, it has not entirely ſuſpended them. The night, which ſurpriſed me on my journey, deprived me of the beautiful proſpect this country would have continued to afford. Being very dark, it was not without difficulty I paſſed two or three rivulets, on very ſmall bridges, and got to *Courtheath's Tavern.* This Inn is lately eſtabliſhed, and kept by young people without fortune, conſequently the beſt parts of the furniture are the owner and his family. Mr. *Courtheath* is a young man of four-and-twenty, who was formerly a travelling dealer in ſtuffs, toys, &c. The depreciation of paper money, or perhaps his own imprudence, ſo far ruined him as to oblige him to leave his houſe at Morris-Town, and ſet up a ta-

vern in this out of the way place, where nothing but the neighbourhood of the army can procure him a few cuſtomers. He has two handſome ſiſters, well dreſſed girls, who wait on travellers with grace and coquettry. Their brother ſays, he will marry them to ſome fat clumſy Dutchmen, and that as for himſelf, as ſoon as he has got a little money, he ſhall reſume his commerce, and travel about as formerly. On entering the parlour, where theſe young women ſit, when there are no ſtrangers, I found on a great table, *Milton*, *Addiſon*, *Richardſon*, and ſeveral other works of that kind. The cellar was not ſo well ſtored as the library, for there was neither wine, cyder, nor rum; nothing in ſhort but ſome vile cyder-brandy, with which I muſt make grog. The bill they preſented me the next morning amounted nevertheleſs to ſixteen dollars. * I obſerved

* Travelling in America was wonderfully expenſive during the war, even after the abolition of paper money, and when all payments were made in *ſpecie*; you could not remain at an inn, even the moſt indifferent, one night, with a ſervant and two horſes, living in the moſt moderate way, under from *five* to

ſerved to Mr. Courtheath, that if he made one pay for being waited on by his pretty ſiſters, it was by much too little; but if only for lodgings and ſupper, it was a great deal. He ſeemed a little aſhamed at having charged

eight dollars. At *Grant's* Tavern at Baltimore, where the Tranſlator ſtaid ſome days, with only one horſe and no ſervant, though he either dined or ſupped out every day, he never eſcaped for leſs than *five* dollars.—I cannot here avoid relating the pleaſant manner in which one *Bell*, a ſhrewd Scotch bookſeller and auctioneer of Philadelphia, paid his bills in travelling through the country. I had given him an Iriſh copy of *Sheridan*'s School for Scandal, with the prologue and epilogue taken from Dodſley's annual Regiſter, which he reprinted, and ſold for *a dollar*. In travelling through Virginia ſome months after, I was ſurpriſed to ſee in many of the inns, even in the moſt remote parts of the country, this celebrated comedy; and, upon enquiry, found that Mr. Bell, who travelled with his family in a covered cart, had paſſed in his way to *the Springs*, (the Harrogate, or Matlock of America) and ſucceſsfully circulated in payment this new ſpecies of paper currency; for, as he obſerved, "Who would not prefer Sheridan's *Sterling*, to the counterfeit creations of Congreſs, or *even of* Robert Morris?" Nor was any *depreciation* attempted; where the intrinſic value was ſo unequivocally ſtamped with the character of wit and freedom. TRANSLATOR.

charged too high, and offered to make a pretty conſiderable abatement, which I refuſed; content with having ſhewn him, that though a foreigner, I was no ſtranger to the price of articles, and ſatisfied with the excuſe he made me, that being himſelf a ſtranger and without property in the country, he was obliged to purchaſe every thing. I learnt, on this occaſion, that he hired the inn he kept, as well as a large barn which ſerved for a ſtable, and a garden of two or three acres, for eighty-four buſhels of corn a year: in fact, the depreciation of paper has compelled people to this manner of making bargains, which is perhaps the beſt of all, but is unqueſtionably an effectual remedy to the preſent diſorder.

At eight o'clock I took leave of my landlord and young landladies, to penetrate thro' the woods by a road with which nobody was very well acquainted. The country I was to paſs through, called *the Clove*, is extremely wild, and was ſcarcely known before the war: it is a ſort of valley, or gorge, ſituated to the weſtward of the high mountains between New Windſor and King's Ferry,

Ferry, and at the foot of which are Weſt-Point and Stoney-Point, and the principal forts which defend the river. In times when the river is not navigable, on account of ice, or contrary winds, it is neceſſary to have communication by land between the States of New-York and the Jerſeys, between New Windſor and Morris-Town. This communication traverſing the Clove, when General Green was Quarter Maſter General, he opened a road for the convoys of proviſions and the artillery. This was the road I took, leaving on my right the *Romopog* road, and aſcending by that which comes from *Ringwood*. Ringwood is only a hamlet of ſeven or eight houſes, formed by Mrs. *Erſkine*'s manor and the forges, which are profitable to her. I had been told that I ſhould find there all ſorts of conveniencies, whether in point of lodgings, if I choſe to ſtop, or in procuring every information I might ſtand in need of. As it was early in the day, and I had travelled but twelve miles, I alighted at Mrs. Erſkine's, only to deſire her to point out to me ſome inn where I might ſleep, or to recommend

mend me to ſome hoſpitable quarters. I entered a very handſome houſe where every body was in mourning, Mr. Erſkine being dead two months before. Mrs. Erſkine, his widow, is about forty, and did not appear the leſs freſh or tranquil for her misfortune. She had with her one of her nephews, and Mr. *John Fell*, a member of Congreſs. They gave me all the neceſſary information, and after drinking a glaſs of Madeira, according to the cuſtom of the country, which will not allow you to leave a houſe without taſting ſomething, I got on horſeback, and penetrated afreſh into the woods, mounting and deſcending very high mountains, until I found myſelf on the borders of a lake, ſo ſolitary and concealed, that it is only viſible through the trees with which it is ſurrounded. The declivities which form its banks are ſo ſteep, that if a deer made a falſe ſtep on the top of the mountain, he would infallibly roll into the lake, without being able to riſe up. This lake, which is not marked upon the charts, and is called *Duck Sider*, is about three miles long and two wide. I was now in the wildeſt

wildeſt and moſt deſert country I had yet paſſed through; my imagination was already enjoying this ſolitude, and my eyes were ſearching through the woods for ſome extraordinary animals, ſuch as elks or caribous (ſuppoſed to be the ſame as the rein deer) when I perceived, in an open ſpot, a quadruped which ſeemed very large. I ſtarted with joy, and was advancing ſlowly, but on a nearer obſervation of the monſter of the deſert, to my great regret I diſcovered it to be a horſe peaceably browſing the graſs; and the opening, no other than a field belonging to a new ſettlement. On advancing a few ſteps farther, I met two children of eight or ten years old, returning quietly from ſchool, carrying under their arms a little baſket, and a large book. Thus was I obliged to lay aſide all the ideas of a poet or a ſportſman, to admire this new country, where one cannot travel four miles without finding a dwelling, nor find one which is not within reach of every poſſible ſuccour, as well in the natural as in the moral order. Theſe reflections, and the fine weather we had all the afternoon, made the end of my day's

day's journey very agreeable. At the beginning of the night, I arrived at the houſe of Mr. *Smith*, who formerly kept an inn, though at preſent he lodges only his friends; but as I had not the honour to be of that number, I was obliged to go a little further, to *Hern's Tavern*, a very indifferent houſe, where I ſupped and ſlept. I left it the 19th, as early as poſſible; having ſtill twelve miles to New-Windſor, and intending to ſtay only one night, I was anxious to paſs at leaſt the greateſt part of the day with General Waſhington. I met him two miles from New-Windſor; he was in his carriage with Mrs. Waſhington, going on a viſit to Mrs. Knox, whoſe quarters were a mile farther on, near the artillery barracks. They wiſhed to return with me, but I begged them to continue their way. The General gave me one of his Aide de Camp's, (Colonel *Humphreys*) * to conduct me to his

* He is at preſent Secretary of the Embaſſy to the court of France. This brave and excellent ſoldier is at the ſame time a poet of great talents: he is the author of a poem addreſſed to the American army, a work recently known in England, where, in ſpight

his houſe, aſſured me that he ſhould not be long in joining me, and he returned accordingly in half an hour. I ſaw him again with the ſame pleaſure, but with a different ſentiment from what he had inſpired me with at our firſt interview. I felt that internal ſatisfaction, in which ſelf-love has ſome ſhare, but which we always experience in finding ourſelves in an intimacy already formed, in real ſociety with a man we have long admired without being able to approach him. It then ſeems as if this great man more peculiarly belongs to us than to the reſt of mankind; heretofore we deſired to

of the national jealouſy, and the affectation of depreciating every thing American, it has had ſuch ſucceſs, as to have been ſeveral times publicly read in the manner of the antients.——[The Marquis de Chaſtellux may be aſſured that it is not by that part of the Engliſh nation who are "jealous of America, and who affect to depreciate every thing American," that the poem of Colonel Humphreys is admired, it is by that numerous and enlightened claſs of free ſpirits, who have always ſupported, and wiſhed proſperity to the glorious ſtruggle of America, who rejoiced at her ſucceſs, and who look forward with hope and pleaſure to her riſing greatneſs.

TRANSLATOR.]

to ſee him; henceforth, ſo to ſpeak, we exhibit him; we knew him, we are better acquainted with him than others, have the ſame advantage over them, that a man having read a book through, has in converſation over him who is only at the beginning.

The General inſiſted on my lodging with him, though his houſe was much leſs than that he had at *Prakneſs*. Several officers, whom I had not ſeen at the army, came to dine with us. The principal of whom were Colonel *Malcomb*, a native of Scotland, but ſettled in America, where he has ſerved with diſtinction in the continental army; he has ſince retired to his eſtate, and is now only a militia Colonel; Colonel Smith †, an

† The author having ſince been very intimate with Colonel Smith, can take upon himſelf to aſſert, that this young man is not only a very good ſoldier, but an excellent ſcholar. The manner of his entering into the ſervice merits relation: he was deſigned for the profeſſion of the law, and was finiſhing his ſtudies at New-York, when the American army aſſembled there after the unfortunate affair of Long-Iſland. He immediately reſolved to take arms in defence of his country, but his parents diſapproving of this ſtep, he enliſted as a common ſoldier, without making himſelf known, or pretending to any

an officer highly ſpoken of, and who commanded a battalion of light infantry under M. de la Fayette; Colonel *Humphreys*, the General's Aide de Camp, and ſeveral others whoſe names I have forgot, but who had all the beſt *ton*, and the eaſieſt deportment. The dinner was excellent; tea ſucceeded dinner, and converſation ſucceeded tea, and laſted till ſupper. The war was frequently the ſubject: On aſking the General which of our profeſſional books he read with the moſt pleaſure; he told me, the King of Pruſſia's Inſtructions

ſuperior rank. Being one day on duty at the door of a General Officer, he was diſcovered by a friend of his family, who ſpoke of him to that General Officer. He was immediately invited to dinner; but he anſwered that he could not quit his duty; his corporal was ſent for to relieve him, and he returned to his poſt after dinner. A few days only elapſed before that General Officer, charmed with his zeal, made him his Aide de Camp. In 1780, he commanded a battalion of light infantry, and the year following was made aide de camp to General Waſhington, with whom he remained until the peace.——[He is now Secretary to the Embaſſy to the court of Great Britain, and has lately married the daughter of his Excellency John Adams, Miniſter Plenipotentiary to that court. TRANSLATOR.]

Inſtructions to his Generals, and the Tactics of M. de Guibert; from whence I concluded that he knew as well how to ſelect his authors as to profit by them.

I ſhould have been very happy to accept of his preſſing invitation to paſs a few days with him, had I not made a ſolemn promiſe, at Philadelphia, to the Vicomte de Noailles, and his travelling companions, to arrive four-and-twenty hours after them if they ſtopped there, or at Albany if they went ſtraight on. We were deſirous of ſeeing *Stillwater* and *Saratoga*, and it would have been no eaſy matter for us to have acquired a juſt knowledge of that country had we not been together, becauſe we reckoned upon General *Schuyler*, who could not be expected to make two journies to gratify our curioſity. I was thus far faithful to my engagement, for I arrived at New Windſor the ſame day that they left Creſs Point; I hoped to overtake them at Albany, and General Waſhington finding he could not retain me, was pleaſed himſelf to conduct me in his barge to the other ſide of the river. We got on ſhore at *Fiſh*

Kill Landing Place, to gain the eaſtern road, preferred by travellers to the weſtern. I now quitted the General, but he inſiſted that Colonel Smith ſhould accompany me as far as *Poughkenſie*. The road to this town paſſes pretty near Fiſh Kill, which we leave on the right, from thence we travel on the heights, were there is a beautiful and extenſive proſpect, and traverſing a townſhip, called *Middlebrook*, arrive at the creek, and at *Wapping Fall*. There I halted a few minutes to conſider, under different points of view, the charming landſcape formed by this river, as well from its caſcade, which is roaring and pictureſque, as from the groups of trees and rocks, which, combined with a number of ſaw mills and furnaces, compoſe the moſt capricious and romantic proſpect.

It was only half paſt three when I got to Poughkenſie, where I intended ſleeping; but finding that the *ſeſſions* were then holding, and that all the taverns were full, I took advantage of the little remaining day to reach a tavern I was told of at three miles diſtance. Colonel Smith who had buſineſs

buſineſs at Poughkenſie remained there, and I was very happy to find myſelf in the evening with nobody but my two Aides de Camp. It was, in fact, a new enjoyment for us to be left to ourſelves, and at perfect liberty to give mutual accounts of the impreſſion left on our minds by ſo many different objects. I only regretted not having ſeen Governor Clinton, for whom I had letters of recommendation. He is a man who governs with the utmoſt vigour and firmneſs, and is inexorable to the tories, whom he makes tremble, though they are very numerous: he has had the addreſs to maintain in its duty this province, one extremity of which borders on Canada, the other on the city of New York. He was then at Poughkenſie, but taken up with the buſineſs of the ſeſſions: beſides, Saratoga, and Burgoyne's different fields of battle, being henceforth the ſole object of my journey, I was wiſhing to get forward for fear of being hindered by the ſnow, and of the roads becoming impaſſable. On my arrival at *Pride's Tavern*, I aſked a number of queſtions of my landlord, reſpecting

the appearance he thought there was of a continuance, or a change of weather, and perceiving that he was a good farmer, I interrogated him on the ſubject of agriculture, and drew the following details from him. The land is very fertile in *Ducheſs County*, of which Poughkenſie is the capital, as well as in the State of New-York, but it is commonly left fallow one year out of two or three, leſs from neceſſity than from there being more land than they can cultivate. A buſhel of wheat at moſt is ſown upon an acre, which renders twenty, and five-and-twenty for one. Some farmers ſow oats on the land that has borne wheat the preceding year, but this grain in general is reſerved for lands newly turned up:* flax is alſo a conſiderable object of cultivation: the land is ploughed with horſes,

* Flax has become a very great and profitable article of cultivation in the Middle and Eaſtern States, the principal cultivators are ſettlers from the north of Ireland, who know the value of it in their own country. In Maſſachuſſets, there is a very conſiderable and flouriſhing ſettlement, called Londonderry, peopled entirely by emigrants from that city, where they apply themſelves particularly to the growth of flax. TRANSLATOR.

horſes, two or three to a plough; ſometimes even a greater number when on new land, or that which has long lain fallow. Mr. Pride, while he was giving me theſe details, always flattered me with the hopes of fine weather the next day. I went to reſt, highly ſatisfied with him and his prognoſtics; in the morning, however, when I awakened, I ſaw the ground already entirely white, and ſnow, which continued to fall in abundance, mixed with hail and ice. There was nothing to be done under ſuch circumſtances, but to continue my journey, as if it was fine weather, only taking a little better breakfaſt than I ſhould otherwiſe have done. But I regretted moſt that the ſnow, or rather ſmall hail that drove againſt my eyes, prevented me from ſeeing the country; which, as far as I could judge, is beautiful and well cultivated. After travelling about ten miles, I traverſed the townſhip of *Straſbourg*, called by the inhabitants of the country *Strattſborough*. This townſhip is five or ſix miles long, yet the houſes are not far from each other. As I was remarking one which was rather handſome, the

owner came to the door, doubtleſs from curioſity, and aſked me, in French, if I would alight, and ſtep in and dine with him. Nothing can be more ſeducing in bad weather than ſuch a propoſal; but on the other hand, nothing is more cruel, when one has once got under ſhelter, than to quit the fire ſide, a ſecond time, to expoſe oneſelf to froſt and ſnow.

I refuſed therefore the dinner offered me by this gallant man, but not the queſtions he put to me. I aſked him, in my turn, whether he had not ſeen ſome French officers paſs, meaning the Vicomte de Noailles, the Comte de Damos, and the Chevalier de Mauduit, who, as they had three or four ſervants, and ſix or ſeven horſes, might have been remarked on the road. My Dutchman, for I have ſince learnt that his name is Le Roy,* a Dutch merchant,

* The Tranſlator had the pleaſure of being well acquainted with one of the ſons of Mr. Le Roy, a moſt amiable young man, whom he knew at Amſterdam, when reſiding with his aunt Madame *Chabanel*, the widow of a rich merchant, who did a great deal of buſineſs with America previous to the

merchant, born in Europe, and acquainted with France, where he lived ſome time; my Dutchman, replied like a man who knew France, and who ſpeaks French; *Sir, it is very true that the Prince de Conti paſſed by here yeſterday evening, with two officers, in their way to Albany.* I could not diſcover whether it was to the Vicomte de Noailles, or the Comte de Damos, that I ought to do homage for his principality; but as they are both my relations, I anſwered with ſtrict truth, that my couſin having gone on before, I was very glad to know at what hour they paſſed, and when I ſhould be able to join them; ſo that if Mr. Le Roy, as no doubt he did, conſulted his almanack, he will have ſet me down for the Duke of Orleans, or the Duke of Chartres; which was the more probable as I had nine horſes with me, whilſt the Prince de Conti, being farther

war. He ſaw him afterwards at Philadelphia and Boſton, and has only to regret, that his affairs rendered it impoſſible to accept of a kind invitation to pay him a viſit at Strattſborough. Mrs. Chabanel's houſe, at Amſterdam, was open to all the Americans in Holland during the war. TRANSLATOR.

farther removed from the crown, had only ſeven.

You ſcarcely get out of Straſbourgh, before you enter the townſhip of *Rhynbeck*. It is unneccſſary to obſerve, that all theſe names diſcover a German origin. At Rhynbeck, nobody came out to aſk me to dinner. But this ſnow mixed with hail was ſo cold, and I was ſo fatigued with keeping my horſe from ſlipping, that I ſhould have ſtopped here even without being invited by the handſome appearance of the inn called *Thomas's Inn*. It was no more, however, than half paſt two; but as I had already come three-and-twenty miles, the houſe was good, the fire well lighted, my hoſt a tall good looking man, a ſportſman, a horſe dealer, and diſpoſed to chat, I determined according, to the Engliſh phraſe, to ſpend the reſt of my day there. The following is all I got intereſting from Mr. Thomas. In time of peace, he carried on a great trade of horſes, which he purchaſed in Canada, and ſent to New York, there to be ſhipped for the Weſt-Indies. It is incredible with what facility this trade is carried on in winter;

winter; he aſſured me that he once went to Montreal, and brought back with him, in a fortnight ſeventy-five horſes which he bought there. This is effected by travelling in a right line, traverſing Lake George upon ice and the ſnow, the deſert between that Lake and Montreal. The Canadian horſes eaſily travel eighteen or twenty hours a day, and three or four men, mounted, are ſufficient to drive one hundred before them. "It was I, added Mr. Thomas, who made, "or rather who repaired the fortune of "that rogue, *Arnold*. He had conducted "his affairs ill, in the little trade he carried "on at Newhaven;* I perſuaded him to "purchaſe

* Arnold was brought up to the buſineſs of an apothecary, being taken from his mother, out of charity, by Doctor Lothrop of Norwich in Connecticut, who was at once a phyſician, ſurgeon, apothecary, merchant and ſhopkeeper, as is uſual in America; after his apprenticeſhip expired, his maſter gave him 500*l.* and letters of recommendation to his correſpondents in London, by which means he obtained credit for ſome thouſands, and returning to Connecticut, ſettled at Newhaven, ſet up an equipage, with ten horſes, a carriage, and a number of ſervants, failed in two years, and was thrown into jail, where he remained 'till releaſed by a bankrupt

"purchaſe horſes in Canada, and to go "himſelf and ſell them at Jamaica. This "ſpeculation alone was ſufficient to pay "his debts, and ſet him once more afloat."

After

act paſſed the Aſſembly. He then firſt got with child, and afterwards married the daughter of Mr. Mansfield, High Sheriff of Newhaven, much againſt the will of the latter; who at length, became reconciled to him, and employed him as a ſupercargo to the Weſt-Indies, where he uſually went in the ſpring, and returned in the autumn with melaſſes, rum, and ſugar. In winter, he went amongſt the Dutch towards the head of Hudſon's River, and into Canada, with various ſorts of woollen goods, ſuch as ſtockings, caps, mittens, &c. &c. and alſo cheeſe, which ſold to great profit in Canada. Theſe articles he either exchanged for horſes, or purchaſed them with the money ariſing from his ſales. With theſe horſes, which generally made a part of a Connecticut cargo, together with poultry, corn and fiſh, he went to the iſlands, whilſt his father-in-law was ſelling the rum, melaſſes and ſugars of the laſt voyage, and collecting woollens for Arnold's next winter trip to Canada. It was in theſe voyages that Arnold became an expert ſeaman, which qualified him for the command of the fleet on the lakes, where he behaved with his uſual gallantry againſt a much ſuperior enemy. The Tranſlator had an opportunity, during his reſidence at *Porto Rico* during the war, of ſeeing ſeveral of theſe Connecticut ſloops make very advan-

After talking of trade, we got to agriculture: he told me, that in the neighbourhood of Rhynbeck, the land was uncommonly fruitful, and that for a buſhel of

ſown

tageous ſales of their little cargoes. After diſembarking their horſes, they ran their veſſels up to the quay, and converted them into retail ſhops, where they dealt out their onions, potatoes, ſalt fiſh and *apples*, (an article which brought a very high price) in the ſmalleſt quantities, for which they received hard dollars, although *it is a fact*, that ſpecie was uncommonly ſcarce in this *Spaniſh* iſland, almoſt all the intercourſe being carried on in *paper dollars*, whilſt the *French* part of the neighbouring iſland of Hiſpaniola was full of Spaniſh money, and the French fleet and army were paid in dollars from the Havannah. The Tranſlator hopes that he ſhall here be pardoned a digreſſion on the ſubject of this *charming iſland*, which in the hands of any other nation would certainly become one of the moſt valuable poſſeſſions in the American Archipelago. Its central ſituation between the windward and leeward iſlands, its capacious harbour, the number of ſprings and rivers with which it is watered, (the latter abounding with fiſh) the excellence of its ſoil, the greateſt part of which is nearly in a virgin ſtate, the ſtrong poſition of the peninſula of St. John, are advantages, which if in the poſſeſſion of a great *active* maritime power, ſuch as France or England, can ſcarcely be appreciated. In the poſſeſ-

ſown wheat, he reaped from thirty to forty. The corn is ſo abundant that they do not take the trouble of cutting it with a ſickle, but mow it like hay. Some dogs of a beautiful

ſion of Spain, it is at moſt but a negative advantage; for I am well aſſured that the King only receives the inconſiderable revenue of 100,000 piaſters from this iſland, whilſt he expended, in the courſe of the late war, no leſs than *eight millions* on the fortifications, which I had the *very ſingular favour* to viſit, accompanied by the firſt engineer, and the ſtrength of which is now deemed not leſs formidable than thoſe of fort Moro, and the Havannah. Nor could England, with her then force in the Weſt Indies, have attacked this iſland with any proſpect of ſucceſs, though many perſons in Jamaica were ſanguine for ſuch an expedition. Beſides an immenſe train of very fine artillery, three of the beſt regiments in the Spaniſh ſervice were there in garriſon, in full health, viz. the regiments de *Bruxelles*, *de la Couronne*, and *de la Victoire*, and a moſt numerous militia. Indeed, ſo ſecure did they think themſelves, that they embarked, when I was there, the regiment de la Couronne, conſiſting of 1200 men for Carthagena. The interior of the country, which I was likewiſe allowed to viſit, is delightful; land may be had for nothing, but every ſettler muſt not only be a catholic, but a rigid one, *the Inquiſition* having an officer here; he muſt likewiſe marry, and wretched is his choice, within a year, nor is he ever allowed to remove any

beautiful kind moving about the houſe, awakened my paſſion for the chace; on aſking Mr. Thomas what uſe he made of them, he told me, that they were only for hunting the fox; that deer, ſtags, and bears, were pretty common in the country, but they ſeldom killed them except in winter, either by tracing on the ſnow, or by tracking them in the woods. All American converſation muſt finiſh with politics. Thoſe of Mr. Thomas appeared to me rather equivocal; he was too rich, and complained too much of

property from the iſland, ſhould he wiſh to quit it, except what he can carry off clandeſtinely. Several Iriſh are ſettled here, but all under the predicament of ſacrificing to the moſt gloomy ſuperſtition, the moſt arbitrary jealouſy of deſpotic power, and to the moſt horrid ſtate of nuptial ſlavery, with the ugliеſt and filthieſt of women. The officers of the *Dragon* man of war of 60 guns, and of the frigates which were lying there, and the military in garriſon were anxious to peruſe the European and American Gazettes I had with me, but even this communication was obliged to be confined to very few, and under the ſtricteſt injunctions of ſecrecy, for our mutual ſafety. In other reſpects it is impoſſible to have met with a more hoſpitable reception. TRANSLATOR.

of the flour he furniſhed for the army to let me think him a good whig. He gave himſelf out for ſuch notwithſtanding, but I obſervered that he was greatly attached to an opinion *which I found generally diffuſed throughout the ſtate of New York; that there is no expedition more uſeful, nor more eaſy than the conqueſt of Canada. It is impoſſible to conceive the ardour the inhabitants of the north ſtill have to recommence that enterprize.* The reaſon is, that their country is ſo fertile, and ſo happily ſituated for commerce, that they are ſure to become very wealthy as ſoon as they have nothing to fear from the ſavages; now the ſavages are only formidable when they are ſupported and animated by the Engliſh.

I left Thomas's Inn the 23d, at 8 in the morning, and travelled three hours always in *Livington's Manor*. The road was good, and the country rich and well cultivated. We paſs ſeveral conſiderable villages, the houſes of which are handſome and neat, and every object here announces proſperity. On leaving this diſtrict, we enter that of *Claverack*, then deſcend from the hills, and approach Hudſon's River. We ſoon after come

come to a creek, which is alſo called by the name of Claverack, and which falls not far from this into the Hudſon. As ſoon as you have paſſed this creek, an immenſe rock, which runs acroſs in the direction of the road, obliges you to turn to the right to reach Claverack Meeting-houſe, and to purſue the road to Albany. This rock, or rather chain of rocks, merits all the attention of naturaliſts. It is about three miles in length. As I did not traverſe it, I am ignorant of its width, but it is ſo ſteep to the ſouth, that it can be aſcribed to nothing but a ſhrinking of the earth, occaſioned by a violent ſhock. Yet one does not find, either in the ſpace between this rock and the little river, or on the oppoſite bank, any correſpondence with the accidental ſeparation it announces. Its flank, which is almoſt expoſed, preſents parallel beds, but rarely horizontal, which made me conjecture that it was of a calcareous nature; * I tried

* The Marquis having, in his account of *Totaháw Falls*, obſerved that there is little or no calcareous ſtone in *this country*, by which I am at a loſs to know whether he means the ſtate of New Jerſey, where he then was, or the United States in general;

tried it with aqua fortis, and found my conjecture juſt. But I was the moſt ſtruck with the ſtrength and beauty of the trees which grow in the midſt of it, the trunks of which riſe out of the chinks formed by the ſeparation of the rock. Unleſs you cloſely examine theſe trees, it is impoſſible to believe that they can grow, and get to ſuch a height without an inch of earth to nouriſh their roots. Several of them grow horizontally, to a certain diſtance, and then aſſume a vertical direction. Others have their roots quite naked, which proves that their origin is prior to the cataſtrophe, whatever it was, which one cannot refuſe admitting. Theſe roots are in the moſt whimſical directions imaginable, reſembling ſerpents crawling amidſt the ruins of an immenſe edifice. The principal part of the trees I ſpeak of, are of that ſort of fir called

I take this opportunity of mentioning, that limeſtone abounds in a great part of the Continent; the interior parts of Penſylvania, Maryland, and Virginia in particular are interſected by immenſe ſtrata of this invaluable ſtone, which lie every where expoſed to the day, or very near the ſurface.

called *hemlock* by the Engliſh, but they are mixed with others, which I took to be walnut-trees, and other white wood; but I muſt obſerve that this conjecture cannot be relied on, as I did not ſee the leaves, and am not well enough acquainted with trees to diſtinguiſh by their branches and their ſtructure. †

Cleverack is a pretty conſiderable townſhip, and extends very far. On quitting it you traverſe ſeveral woods to ariſe at the firſt houſes of *Kinderhook*. I found in theſe woods new improvements, and ſeveral log-huts. * But on approaching one of them,

† With great ſubmiſſion to the author, he appears to have laid a greater ſtreſs on this phœnomenon than it has any claim to from its ſingularity; every mountainous country in Europe abounds with ſuch appearances, which, though curious, may poſſibly be accounted for on principles more ſimple, and leſs *ſyſtematical*, than thoſe great convulſions ſo enthuſiaſtically imagined by the diſciples of the *buffonic* ſchool. The Tranſlator too owns himſelf ignorant of the ſpecies of *fir*, called *hemlock* by the Engliſh. TRANSLATOR.

* Huts made of the trunks of trees, laid horizontally on each other, and the interſtices filled with earth, or clay.

I perceived, with regret, that the family who inhabited it had been long ſettled there, without thinking of building a better houſe, an uncommon circumſtance in America, and which is almoſt unexampled, except in the Dutch ſettlements; for that people are more œconomical than induſtrious, and are more deſirous of amaſſing wealth than of adding to their comfort. When you arrive at the firſt hamlet of Kinderhook, you muſt make a long circuit to reach the meeting-houſe, which is in the centre of what may be properly called the town of Kinderhook. There you paſs a pretty conſiderable ſtream, and have the choice of three or four inns; but the beſt is that of Mr. *Van Burragh*. The preference given to this, however, does no honour to the others; it is a very ſmall houſe, kept by two young people of a Dutch family; they are civil and attentive, and you are not badly off with them, provided you are not difficult to pleaſe. It would have ill become me now to have been ſo, for I had nothing but ſnow, hail, and froſt during

the whole day, and any fireſide was an agreeable aſylum for me.

It was a difficult queſtion to know where I ſhould the next day paſs the north river, for I was told that it was neither ſufficiently broken to croſs it on the ice, nor free enough from flakes to venture it in a boat. Apprized of theſe obſtacles, I ſet out early on the 24th, that I might have time to diſcover the eaſieſt paſſage. I was only twenty miles from Albany; ſo that after a continued journey through a foreſt of fir trees, I arrived at one o'clock on the banks of the *Hudſon*. The vale in which this river runs, and the town of Albany, which is built in the form of an amphitheatre on its weſtern bank, muſt have afforded a very agreeable coup d'œil, had it not been disfigured by the ſnow. A handſome houſe half way up the bank oppoſite the ferry, ſeems to attract attention, and to invite ſtrangers to ſtop at General *Schuyler's*, who is the proprietor as well as architect. I had recommendations to him from all quarters, but particularly from General Waſhington and Mrs. *Carter*. I had beſides given the ren-

dezvous to Colonel Hamilton, who had juſt married another of his daughters *, and was preceded

* Colonel Hamilton is ſo well known by all thoſe who have had any connexion with America, that it would be unneceſſary to point him out more particularly, were not this journal, at length deſtined for publication, likely to fall into the hands of ſeveral readers who were ignorant of, or have forgotten, many details relative to this revolution, to which their attention may be ſtill awakened. Colonel Hamilton, a native of Sainte Croix, and ſome time ſettled in America, was deſtined to the profeſſion of the law, and had ſcarcely compleated his ſtudies, when General Waſhington, verſed as all great men are in the diſcovery of talents, and in the employment of them, made him at once his Aide de Camp and Secretary, a poſt as eminent as important in the American army. From that time his correſpondence with the French, which language he ſpeaks and writes perfectly well, the details of every kind, political and military, entruſted to him, developed thoſe talents, the General had known how to diſcover, and put in activity; whilſt the young ſoldier, by a prudence and ſecrecy ſtill more beyond his age than his information, juſtified the confidence with which he was honoured. He continued to ſerve in this capacity till the year 1781, when deſirous of diſtinguiſhing himſelf in the command of troops, as he had done in all his other functions, he took that of a battalion of light infantry. It was at the head of this battalion, that jointly with M. de Gimat, he

preceded by the Vicomte de Noailles, and the Comte de Damas, who I knew were arrived the night before. The ſole difficulty therefore conſiſted in paſſing the river. Whilſt the boat was making its way

carried by aſſault one of the enemy's redoubts at the ſiege of York Town. The reader will perhaps be ſurprized to hear, that the next year, before the peace was made, Mr. Hamilton turned advocate, and became a member of Congreſs. The explanation of this enigma is, that the war being conſidered as at an end, it was neceſſary for him to think of his fortune, which was very inconſiderable. Now the profeſſion of a *lawyer*, which comprehends thoſe of attorney and notary, is not only the moſt reſpectable in America, but likewiſe the moſt lucrative; and there is no doubt that, with ſuch talents and ſuch knowledge, Mr. Hamilton muſt be in peace, as well as in war, one of the moſt conſiderable citizens in his new country. At preſent he is ſettled at New-York.—[To this juſt eulogium, the Tranſlator takes the liberty of adding, that Colonel Hamilton is a moſt elegant writer, and a perfectly accompliſhed gentleman, and as ſuch could not fail of diſtinguiſhing himſelf in the firſt European circles. His account of the behaviour and death of the unfortunate *André*, to which he was a witneſs, publiſhed at the time in the American and Engliſh prints, does equal honour to his underſtanding and his heart.

TRANSLATOR.]

with difficulty through the flakes of ice, which we were obliged to break as we advanced. Mr. Lynch, who is not indifferent about a good dinner, contemplating General Schuyler's houſe, mournfully ſays to me, *I am ſure the Vicomte and Damas are now at table, where they have good cheer, and good company, whilſt we are here kicking our heels, in hopes of getting this evening to ſome wretched alehouſe.* I partook a little of his anxiety, but diverted myſelf by aſſuring him that they ſaw us from the windows, that I even diſtinguiſhed the Vicomte de Noailles who was looking at us through a teleſcope, and that he was going to ſend ſomebody to conduct us on our landing to that excellent houſe, where we ſhould find dinner ready to come on table; I even pretended that a ſledge I had ſeen deſcending towards the river was deſigned for us, As chance would have it, never was conjecture more juſt. The firſt perſon we ſaw on ſhore, was the Chevalier de Mauduit, who was waiting for us with the General's ſledge, into which we quickly ſtepped and were conveyed in an inſtant into a handſome ſaloon,

near

near a good fire, with Mr. Schuyler, his wife and daughters. Whilſt we were warming ourſelves, dinner was ſerved, to which every one did honour, as well as to the Madeira which was excellent, and made us compleatly forget the rigour of the ſeaſon, and the fatigue of the journey.

General Scuyler's family was compoſed of Mrs. Hamilton, his ſecond daughter, who has a mild agreeable countenance; of Miſs Peggy Schuyler, whoſe features are animated and ſtriking; of another charming girl, only eight years old, and of three boys, the eldeſt of whom is fifteen, and are the handſomeſt children you can ſee. He is himſelf about fifty, but already gouty and infirm. His fortune is very conſiderable, and it will become ſtill more ſo, for he poſſeſſes an immenſe extent of territory, but derives more credit from his talents and information, than from his wealth. He ſerved with General Amherſt in the Canadian war, as Deputy Quarter-Maſter General. From that period he made himſelf known, and became diſtinguiſhed; he was very uſeful to the Engliſh, and was ſent for to London

don after the peace, to ſettle the accounts of every thing furniſhed by the Americans. His marriage with Miſs *Ranſeleer*, the rich heireſs of a family which has given its name to a diſtrict, or rather a whole province, ſtill added to his credit and his influence; ſo that it is not ſurprizing he ſhould be raiſed to the rank of Major General at the beginning of the war, and have the command of the troops on the frontiers of Canada. It was in this capacity, that he was commiſſioned in 1777 to oppoſe the progreſs of General Burgoyne; but having received orders from Congreſs, directly contrary to his opinion, without being provided with any means neceſſary for carrying them into execution, he found himſelf obliged to evacuate Ticonderoga, and fall back on the Hudſon. Theſe meaſures, undoubtedly prudent in themſelves, being unfavourably conſtrued in a moment of ill humour and anxiety, he was tried by a Court Martial, as well as General Sinclair, his ſecond in command, and both of them were ſoon after *honourably acquitted*. Sinclair reſumed his ſtation in the army, but

General

General Schuyler, juſtly offended, demanded more ſatisfactory reparation, and reclaimed his rank which, ſince this event, was conteſted with him by two or three Generals of the ſame ſtanding. This affair not being ſettled, he did not rejoin the army, but continued his ſervices to his country. Elected a member of Congreſs the year following, he was nearly choſen Preſident in oppoſition to Mr. Laurens; ſince that time he has always enjoyed the confidence of the government, and of General Waſhington, who are at preſent paying their court to him, and preſſing him to accept the office of Secretary at War.

Whilſt we were in this excellent aſylum, the weather continued doubtful, between froſt and thaw; there was a little ſnow upon the ground, and it was probable there ſoon would be a fall. The council of travellers aſſembled, and it appeared to them proper not to delay their departure for Saratoga. General Schuyler offered us a houſe which he has upon his own eſtate; but he could not ſerve us as a guide, on account of an indiſpoſition, and his apprehenſion

henſion of a fit of the gout. He propoſed giving us an intelligent officer to conduct us to the different fields of battle, whilſt his ſon ſhould go before to prepare us lodgings. We could ſtill travel on horſeback, and were ſupplied with horſes of the country to replace ours which were fatigued, and a part of which ſtill remained on the other ſide of the river. All theſe arrangements being accepted, we were conveyed to Albany in a ſledge. On our arrival, we waited on Brigadier General Clinton, to whom I delivered my letters of recommendation. He is an honeſt man, but of no diſtinguiſhed talents, and is only employed out of reſpect to his brother the Governor. He immediately ordered the horſes for our journey, and Major *Popham*, his Aide de Camp, an amiable and intelligent officer, was deſired to conduct us. He was to take with him Major *Græme*, who knows properly the ground, and ſerved in the army under General Gates.

All our meaſures being well concerted, we each of us retired to our quarters; the Vicomte de Noailles and his two companions

nions to an inn, kept by a Frenchman, called *Louis*, and I to that of an American of the name of *Blenniſſens*. At day-break, tea was ready, and the whole caravan aſſembled at my quarters; but melted ſnow was falling, which did not promiſe an agreeable ride. We were in hopes that it was a real thaw, and ſet out upon our journey. The ſnow however fell thicker and thicker, and was ſix inches deep when we arrived at the junction of the *Mowhawk* with the Hudſon's river. Here is a choice of two roads to Saratoga: one obliges you to paſs the Hudſon, to keep ſome time along the left bank, and paſs it a ſecond time near the *Half-Moon*; the other goes on the Mohawk river 'till you get above the *Cataract*, when you paſs that river, and traverſe the woods to *Stillwater*. Even had there been no difficulty in paſſing the North river on account of the ice, I ſhould have preferred the other road, to ſee the caſcade of *Cokes*, which is one of the wonders of America. Before we left the Hudſon, I remarked an iſland in the middle of its bed, which offers a very advantageous poſition for erecting

ing batteries, to defend the navigation. The two Majors, to whom I communicated this obſervation, told me that this point of defence was neglected, becauſe there was a better one, a little higher up, at the extremity of one of the three branches into which the Mohawk river divides itſelf, in falling into the Hudſon. They added that this poſition was very ſlightly reconnoitred; that which was begun to be fortified higher up, being ſufficient to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy. Thus the more you examine the country, the more you are convinced that the expedition of Burgoyne was extravagant, and muſt ſooner or latter have miſcarried, independent of the engagements which decided the event.

The junction of the two rivers is ſix miles north of Albany, and after travelling two more in the woods, we began to hear a murmuring noiſe, which increaſed 'till we came in ſight of *Cohos Fall.* This cataract is the whole breadth of the river, that is to ſay, near two hundred toiſes, about 1200 Engliſh feet wide. It is a vaſt ſheet of water, which falls 76 Engliſh feet.*

feet.* The river in this place is contracted between two ſteep banks formed by the declivity of the mountains, theſe precipices are covered by an earth as black as iron ore, and on which nothing grows but firs and cypreſſes. The courſe of the river is ſtraight, both before and after its fall, and the rocks forming this caſcade are nearly on a level, but their irregular figure breaks the water whilſt it is falling, and forms a variety of whimſical and pictureſque appearances. This picture was rendered ſtill more terrible by the ſnow which covered the firs, the brilliancy of which gave a black colour to the water, gliding gently along, and a yellow tinge to that which was daſhing over the cataract.

After

* Madame *la Comteſſe de Genlis* in ſpeaking of this cataract in one of the notes to her *Veilles du Chateau*, ſays it is only 50 feet, but from other accounts confirming this of M. de Chaſtellux, I am inclined to think, that it is between 70 and 80 feet. This invaluable, and correct writer, the pride of her ſon, and of humanity, has in this inſtance been unavoidably miſled by the American travellers ſhe conſulted.

TRANSLATOR.

After feaſting our eyes with this awful ſpectacle, we travelled a mile higher up to the ferry where we hoped to paſs the river; but on our arrival, found the boat ſo entangled in the ice and ſnow, that it was impoſſible to make uſe of it. We were aſſured, that people had paſſed a ferry two miles higher, that morning, whither we immediately went, determined to purſue our route, though the ſnow was greatly encreaſed, and we were benumbed with wet and cold. The boatmen of this ferry made many objections on account of the bad weather and the ſmallneſs of their boat, which could only tranſport three horſes at a time; but this difficulty did not ſtop us, and we agreed to make ſeveral trips. The firſt attempt was made to paſs over my Valet de Chambre, with three horſes: I was waiting by the fireſide for my turn, when they came to inform me that the boat was coming back to ſhore, with ſome difficulty, and that the current had almoſt driven it towards the cataract. We were obliged therefore to ſubmit to our deſtiny, which was not yet diſpoſed to let us fulfil the object

jeƈt of our voyage. On this occaſion I diſplayed a magnanimity which placed me high in the eſteem of the whole company: whilſt others were ſtorming, and growing impatient, uncertain of the meaſures to be taken, I ſerenely gave the ſignal for a retreat, and thought no more of any thing but ſupper, for which I made the moſt prudent diſpoſitions on the ſpot. The innkeeper of M. de Noailles being a Frenchman, and conſequently a better cook, or at leaſt more active than mine, it was decided that he ſhould provide our ſupper: the beſt mounted cavalier of the troop was diſpatched to give the neceſſary orders, whom we followed in half an hour; we arrived as night was coming on, and preſently ſat down to table. Thus paſſed the day's work of the 25th, which was not very agreeable till the hour of ſupper, but terminated very happily; for what conſolation does not one derive under diſappointment, from a good fire, a good ſupper, and good company?

The 26th, the rivers not being yet frozen, nor the roads hard enough to make a long journey in a ſledge, I determined to remain at Albany. My morning was employed

ployed in adjuſting my notes, which occupation was only interrupted by a viſit from Colonel Hamilton. He told us that Mrs. Schuyler was a little indiſpoſed; but that the General would be equally glad to receive us. Accordingly he ſent us his ſledges the beginning of the evening. We found him in his ſaloon with Mr. and Mrs. Hamilton. A converſation ſoon took place between the General, the Vicomte de Noailles and me. We had already talked, when we were laſt with him, of ſome important faults relative to the nothern campaigns, of which we had aſked ſome explanations. Mr. Schuyler appeared no leſs deſirous of giving them. He is pretty communicative, and is well entitled to be ſo; his converſation is eaſy and agreeable; he knows well what he ſays, and expreſſes himſelf well on every thing he knows. To give the beſt anſwer to our queſtions, he propoſed to us to read his political and military correſpondence with General Waſhington, which we accepted with great pleaſure, and leaving the reſt of the company with Mr. and Mrs. Hamilton, we retired into another

room.

room. The General opening his pocket-book, the Vicomte and I divided the different manuſcripts, containing upwards of ſixty pages of cloſe writing on paper *à la Telliere*. The firſt diſpatch I read was a letter written by him to General Waſhington, *in November* 1777: it contained a *plan of attack on Canada*, which originated in the following circumſtance: Two Engliſh officers after being made priſoners with Burgoyne's army, obtained permiſſion to return to Canada on their parole, and on the road ſtopped at General Schuyler's at Saratoga. The converſation, as we may eaſily ſuppoſe, ſoon turned on the great event, the impreſſion of which was ſo recent. One of theſe officers being attached to General Burgoyne, criminated Governor Sir Guy Carleton, whom he accuſed of having retained too many troops in Canada; the States maintained that he had not even reſerved ſufficient for the defence of the country. From aſſertions they came to proofs, which proofs could only be *an exact detail of all the forces then remaining in Canada, and their diſtribution.* General Schuyler was at-

tentive, and took advantage of the diſpute. He learns by this means, that Canada was in real danger; and propoſed, in conſequence, to General Waſhington to retake Ticonderoga, in caſe that poſt was not abandoned, as it actually has been, and to proceed from thence to Montreal. This plan is extremely well conceived, and exhibits a great knowledge of the country; and what ſtruck me as the moſt worthy of attention, is the immenſity of the reſources to be found in this country for a winter expedition, and the extreme facility with which an army may rapidly advance, by the means of ſledges to tranſport the proviſions and ſtores, and even ſick and lame ſoldiers. It is poſſible, in a month's time, to collect, between the Connecticut and Hudſon's River, fifteen hundred ſledges, two thouſand horſes and as many oxen; the latter may be ſhod for the ice, like horſes, and ſerve to draw the ſledges with proviſions; and as theſe are conſumed, or the oxen fatigued, they may be ſlain for the food of the army. Nor muſt it be imagined that theſe expeditions are ſo dreadful for the ſoldiers

diers as we are accuſtomed to ſuppoſe them. With the feet and legs well fortified, and proper cloathing, which it was eaſy to procure before the finances and reſources of the country were exhauſted, they ſupport extremely well the fatigue of long marches; and as they paſs all the night in the woods, they eaſily find ſhelter, and light great fires, by which they ſleep better than under tents; for it is to be obſerved, that if the cold be ſevere in this country, it is always a dry cold, againſt which it is much more eaſy to provide than againſt rain and moiſture.

General Schuyler never received any anſwer to this letter, nor does he know with whom the fault lies. M. de la Fayette however came to Albany in January to prepare and command an expedition ſimilar to that he had projected: he ſhewed his inſtructions to General Schuyler, who diſcovered it to be his own plan, of which he ſuppoſes ſome other perſon wiſhed to claim the honour, but as no orders had come to him, he had made no preparations, nor were there any made on the ſide of Connecticut; ſo that M. de la Fayette, how agreeable

ſoever this expedition might be to him, had ſo much good ſenſe and attachment to the intereſt of America as to admit the difficulties, and divert Congreſs from purſuing it.

The winter following, after the evacuation of Philadelphia, and the affair of Monmouth, General Waſhington, always more occupied in putting an end to the misfortunes of his country, than in prolonging the duration of the brilliant part he was acting in America, wrote to Mr. Schuyler, to conſult him on an expedition to Canada, and on the means of executing it with ſucceſs. In anſwer to this letter, he ſent a memoir perfectly well conceived, and no leſs well written, in which he propoſed three different plans. The firſt was to collect his forces near the ſources of the Connecticut, at a place called *Coos*; from thence there is only a trifling carrying place to the rivers which fall into the St. Lawrence, below Lake *Saint Pierre*, near to Quebec. But this plan would be difficult of execution, from the ſcarcity of reſources on the Connecticut river, and from the great difficulties

ties to be encountered in approaching thoſe to be provided on the Hudſon and Mohawk rivers, beſides that the attack would thus be carried into the heart of the Engliſh forces, and too near the ſea, from whence they derive their principal aid. The ſecond project was to remount the Mohawk river, then to embark on Lake *Oneida*, and croſſing Lake *Ontario*, proceed weſtward to beſiege *Niagara*; then returning by the ſame route, to deſcend the river, and attack Montreal by the north. In this plan, General Schuyler foreſaw two great inconveniencies; one, from the long circuit it would be neceſſary to make, thus giving the Engliſh time to collect their troops at the point of attack; the other from the impoſſibility there was of deceiving the enemy by threatning them on the ſide of Lake Champlain, and *Sorel*, ſince the preparations on the Mohawk and Hudſon's River could not fail of diſcloſing the whole ſyſtem of the campaign. It was by Lake Champlain therefore, and in the winter, that General Schuyler propoſed marching directly to Montreal; leaving *St. John's* on the

right, and poſtponing the attack of that poſt 'till ſpring, which was not to be ſecured, before the Iſle of Montreal, and *all the upper country* ſhould be got poſſeſſion of: on this plan there would be no difficulty in concealing its real object; as the neceſſary preparations might be collected on the rivers Hudſon and Connecticut; the ſhifting from one to the other being an eaſy meaſure. Thus the enemy would be alarmed at once for Quebec, St. John's, and Montreal. On this ſuppoſition, it is probable they would prefer ſacrificing Montreal. There an advantageous eſtabliſhment might be formed, and meaſures taken to attack Quebec; but in caſe of their being obliged to abandon it, an eaſy retreat would always be ſecured by the *Beaver hunting Place* *, and Lake Champlain. Such was the object of this long diſpatch which I read with great attention, and much pleaſure, and of which I have attempted to give ſome

* This is the name given in the Engliſh charts to the deſerts between Lake *Ontario*, the River St. Lawrence, and the Lakes George and Champlain, and the River of Soreo.

ſome idea, convinced as I am that this article of my journal will not be unintereſting to military men; others may render it amuſing, by ſurveying the chart, and running over the immenſe country embraced by theſe different projects.

The next memoir which fell into my hands was the anſwer of General Waſhington. After teſtifying the greateſt confidence in General Schuyler, he enters into diſcuſſion with him, and offers his reflexions with a modeſty as amiable, as worthy of eſtimation. He is of opinion that the expedition by Lake Ontario is perhaps too highly rejected without ſufficient reaſon; that it would be eaſy for him to favour the attack of Niagara, by a diverſion he could make on lake *Grie*, by marching the Virginia troops on the ſide of the *Ohio* and Fort *Pitt*: he enquires whether it be poſſible to build boats on Hudſon's river, and tranſport them on carriages to the Mohawk; his object in this was evidently to obviate one of the principal objections I have mentioned; that the preparations for this expedition revealed too much the real object. All the other points are

treated with wiſdom and preciſion; which renders the reply of General Schuyler ſtill more curious and intereſting. It is worthy both of the importance of the ſubject, and of the great man to whom it is addreſſed. Mr. Schuyler perſiſts in his opinion; and invariably attached to his project of attack by Lake Champlain, he proves that it may be executed in ſummer as well as in winter. Every thing depends, according to him, on poſſeſſing a naval ſuperiority *, which he is

* From theſe accounts it appears very evident that General Carleton acted with great prudence in retaining the force he did in Canada, for which he has been blamed by ſome, when Burgoyne went on his expedition; in the cataſtrophe of which, 1500 or 2000 men more would probably have made little difference, but the want of which would have totally enfeebled the defence of Canada, and thrown that province into the hands of the United States. The American ideas too, on the ſubject of an expedition into Canada, and which may poſſibly be carried into execution at ſome future period, merit the attention of the Engliſh Government, more particularly as America, ſince ſhe is put in poſſeſſion of the Kenebee and the boundary line, cuts the Sorel river below Lake Champlain, can now carry on her operations at her eaſe, and unmoleſted on the lakes, and by Arnold's route; but, in fact, Canada muſt, on a

is of opinion may be eaſily obtained by conſtructing larger veſſels than thoſe of the Engliſh,

rupture, follow the fortune of the United States; that province can only be prevented from falling rapidly before ſuch a force as the Eaſtern States can put in motion, by *very ſtrong* forts built at the head of the *Kennebec*, *St. Croix*, and *Connecticut* rivers, by forts on *both* ſides of the Sorel, where cut by the boundary line, on *both* ſides the St. Lawrence where it joins that river, at *the head* of the carrying place above Niagara, on the Engliſh ſide, where a new carrying place muſt, if poſſible be formed, and *oppoſite the* fort of Detroit and Michilimazance. All muſt be *ſtrong*, *regular* works, capable of containing Garriſons with ſtores ſufficient to ſtop the progreſs of an enemy's army, 'till relief can arrive from the interior of the country, where 6 or 8000 regular forces muſt be kept, beſides ſtrong garriſons at Quebec, and Montreal, the fortifications of which muſt be repaired and ſtrengthened. Unleſs England be determined to adopt, and rigorouſly to maintain all theſe neceſſary defences, perhaps after all inadequate, it is impoſſible that Canada ſhould long reſiſt an American expedition. On ſuch a tenure, and at ſuch an enormous expence, will that province be worth holding? *Mr. Payne*, in his admirable letter to the Abbé Raynal, makes the following judicious obſervations on this ſubject:—"Reſpecting *Canada*, one "or other of theſe two events will take place; viz. if "Canada ſhould become populous, it will revolt; and

Engliſh, and he is perſuaded that two fifty gun ſhips would be ſufficient to ſecure it. People

" if it do not become ſo, it will not be worth the ex-
" pence of holding. But Canada *never will* become
" populous; Britain may put herſelf to great expences
" in ſending ſettlers to Canada, but the deſcendants of
" thoſe ſettlers will be Americans, as other deſcend-
" ants have been before them. They will look round
" and ſee the neighbouring States ſovereign and free,
" reſpected abroad, and trading at large with the
" world; and the natural love of liberty, the advan-
" tages of commerce, the bleſſings of independence,
" and of a *happier climate and a richer ſoil* will draw
" them *ſouthward*, and the effects will be, that Bri-
" tain will ſuſtain the expence, and America reap
" the advantage, and the ſame may be ſaid of *Ha-*
" *lifax* and the country round it. One would think
" that the experience Britain has had of America,
" would entirely ſicken her of all thoughts of *conti-*
" *nental* colonization; and any part ſhe may retain,
" will only become to her a field of jealouſy and
" thorns, of debate and contention, for ever ſtrug-
" gling for privileges, and meditating revolt. She may
" form *new ſettlements*, but they will be for us; *they*
" *will become part of the United States of America*; and
" that againſt all her contrivances to prevent it, or
" without any endeavour of ours to promote it. In
" the firſt place ſhe cannot draw from them a revenue
" until they are able to pay one, and when they
" are ſo, they will be above ſubjection. Men ſoon
" become attached to the ſoil they live upon, and

People are wrong, added he, in dreading the navigation of the Lakes, and in not daring to

" incorporated with the proſperity of the place; and " it ſignifies but little what opinions they come over " with, for time, intereſt and new connections will " render them obſolete, and the next generation " know nothing of them.——To ſpeak explicitly " on the matter, I would not, were I an European, " have Canada, under the conditions that Britain " muſt retain it, could it be given to me. It is " one of thoſe kinds of dominion that is, and " ever will be, a conſtant charge upon any foreign " holder.——There are, I doubt not, thouſands " of people in England, who ſuppoſe that Canada " and Nova Scotia are a profit to the nation, where- " as they are directly the contrary, and inſtead of " producing any revenue, a conſiderable part of the " revenue of England is annually drawn off to ſup- " port the expence of holding them."——What it coſts England to maintain Canada alone, may be known from the following accurate *abſtract*, verified by the treaſury accounts, of the *expences of that Province, from the 1ſt of June* 1776, *to the* 24*th of October* 1782, *being ſix years and four months.*

Military—Ordinaries,	£ 688,385 : 18 : 2½	
Extraordinaries,	4,510,790 : 12 : 7	
Civil Eſtabliſhment and Contingencies,	100,343 : 8 : 9	
Total, - -	£5,299,519 : 19 : 6½	
Which for 6 years and 4 months is,	£ 836,766 : 6 : 3	per ann.

to truſt large ſhips on them. On all theſe ſubjects, he ſpeaks as an enterpriſing well informed man; and capable of executing what he propoſes. I ſhall conclude this detail, by giving the project of a campaign againſt the ſavages, different from that adopted by Congreſs in 1779, the execution of which was entruſted to General Sullivan. According to this, five hundred men only ſhould have marched by *Wioming* and *Tioga*, whilſt the remainder of the army made its appearance by the head of the Mohawk river, and Lake *Meida* to take the ſavages in the rear, and cut off their retreat to Lake Ontario; which appeared to me reaſonable, becauſe by this means, the double object was fulfilled of deſtroying the ſavages, and of avoiding a

It is true that the war extraordinaries muſt not be taken into the eſtimate of a peace eſtabliſhment, but will not the independence of the United States render a larger force neceſſary than during the former peace, beſides the garriſons above mentioned, &c; and is war ſo very improbable in that quarter? Perhaps the moſt fortunate event for Britain will be, to receive the news, ſome ſpring or other, after the opening of the St. Lawrence, that Canada has been taken in the winter, with little or no bloodſhed.

TRANSLATOR.

a long and difficult march for the main body of the army, acroſs the *Great Swamp* of Wioming.

To comprehend this, it muſt be recollected that in 1779, the Congreſs, ſeeing their enemies confined to New-York and Rhode Iſland, thought they might ſpare a body of troops of three or four thouſand men againſt the five nations, of whoſe cruelties they had many proofs. The plan was to carry off or deſtroy them, and thus relieve the country lying between the *Saſquahannah* and the *Delaware*. General Sullivan, after taking every ſort of precaution to ſecure the ſubſiſtence and health of the ſoldiers, made a very long and well conducted march, drove the ſavages before him, and burnt their villages and harveſts. But this was the whole fruit of his expedition, for he never had it in his power to cut them off; the corps under General Clinton, which had penetrated by the Mohawk river, being found too weak to act of itſelf, was obliged to join the main body of the army.

I did

I did not finiſh my reading before ten o'clock; and I continued in converſation wi h General Schuyler, whilſt the company was at ſupper. It cannot be ſuppoſed that I was able to reaſon upon all the ſubjects he had laid before me. I contented myſelf therefore with remarking that every partial expedition againſt Canada, and which did not tend to the total conqueſt, or rather the deliverance of that country, would be dangerous and ineffectual; as it would not be ſtrengthened by the concurrence of the inhabitants, they having been already deceived in their expectations in Montgomery's expedition, and dreading the reſentment of the Engliſh, ſhould they a ſecond time ſhew themſelves favourable to the Americans. It gave me pleaſure to find him of the ſame opinion. We then ſeparated well pleaſed with each other, and I returned home to await the deciſion of the weather, reſpecting the next day's journey.

The 27th in the morning, underſtanding that the rivers were not yet frozen, and the weather being fine but very cold, I wiſhed to take advantage of it to go to *Schenectady*.

dy. This is a town ſituated 14 miles from Albany, on the Mohawk river. It excites ſome curioſity, from being built in the very country of the ſavages; from its being picketed, that is to ſay, ſurrounded with lofty paliſades, like their villages, and from their ſtill retaining ſome habitations there, which form a ſort of ſuburb, to the eaſt of the town. It was rather late when I thought of this ride, and it was noon before I got a ſledge; but General Schuyler had aſſured me that I ſhould be there in two hours, on the ſuppoſition, doubtleſs, that my ſledge would be better provided with horſes. I found the roads very bad, and the horſes ſtill worſe; for they would not draw, and if M. de Monteſquieu had not himſelf taken the reins, and preſſed them forward with more vivacity than their merciful conductor, I believe I ſhould have remained in the ſnow, with which this country is covered ſix months in the year. The country which lies between Albany and Schenectady, is nothing but an immenſe foreſt of pine-trees, untouched by the hatchet. They are lofty and robuſt, but thin ſown; and

as

as nothing grows under their ſhade, a line of cavalry might traverſe this wood without breaking their ranks, or defiling. It was three o'clock, and myſelf half dead with cold when I reached Schenectady. This town ſtands at the foot of a ſmall declivity, on your coming out of the woods; it is regularly built, and contains five hundred houſes within the paliſades, without reckoning ſome dwellings which form a ſuburb, and the Indian village adjoining to the ſuburb. Two families, and eight inhabitants are reckoned to a houſe. Beyond the town, to the weſtward, the country is more open, and the land very fertile; it produces a great deal of corn, of which they carry on a great trade. I alighted at Colonel *Glen's*, the Quarter Maſter General of this diſtrict, a lively, active man. He received me in the politeſt manner; an excellent fire, and two or three glaſſes of toddy, warmed me, ſo as to enable me to aſk him ſome queſtions, and to return immediately, for night was coming on, and the Vicomte de Noailles expected me at dinner at five o'clock. Colonel Glen lent me horſes to return to Albany,

bany, and was ſo good as to conduct me himſelf into the Indian village. As we were preparing to ſet out, one of theſe ſavages entered his houſe: he was a meſſenger diſpatched by their hunters, who came to inform him of a party of one hundred and fifty *Seneeas*, and ſeveral tories, making their appearance a few miles from Saratoga, and having even carried off one of their young men. This meſſenger ſpoke very good French, and very bad Engliſh; born of a Canadian, or European father, he had mixed with the ſavages, amongſt whom he had lived twenty years, rather from libertiniſm than any other motive. The news he brought was not very encouraging for the journey I was about to take, but I gave little credit to it, and I was in the right.

The Indian village Mr. Glen conducted me to, is nothing but an aſſemblage of miſerable huts in the wood, along the road to Albany. He took me into that of a ſavage *du Saut Saint Louis*, who had long lived at Montreal, and ſpoke good French. Theſe huts are like our barracks in time of war, or thoſe run up in vineyards, or orchards,

to watch the fruit when it is ripe. All the timber conſiſts in two up-rights and one croſs pole; it is covered with a matted roof, but this is well lined within by a quantity of bark. The inner ſpace is rather below the level of the ground, and the entrance by a little ſide-door; in the middle of the hut is the fire-place, from which the ſmoke aſcends by an opening in the roof. On each ſide of the fire, are raiſed two branches, which run the length of the hut, and ſerve to ſleep on; theſe are covered with ſkins and bark. Beſide the ſavage who ſpoke French, in this hut, there was a *ſquah*, the name given to the Indian women, who had taken him as her ſecond, and was bringing up a child by her firſt huſband; two old men compoſed the remainder of the family, which had a melancholy and poor appearance. The ſquah was hideous, as they all are, and her huſband almoſt ſtupid, ſo that the charms of this ſociety did not make me forget that the day was advancing, and that it was time to ſet out. All that I could learn from the Colonel, or from the ſavages was, that the State gives them rations of meat, and ſometimes

times of flour; that they poſſeſs alſo ſome land, where they ſow Indian corn, and go a hunting for ſkins, which they exchange for rum. They are ſometimes employed in war, and are commended for their bravery and fidelity. Though in ſubjection to the Americans, they have their chiefs, to whom application is made for juſtice, when an Indian has committed any crime. Mr. Glen told me, that they ſubmitted to the puniſhments inflicted on them; but had no idea that it was right to puniſh them with death, even for homicide. Their number at preſent is 350; which is conſtantly diminiſhing, as well as that of *the five nations*. I do not believe that theſe five nations can produce four thouſand men in arms. The ſavages of themſelves therefore, would not be much to be dreaded, were they not ſupported by the Engliſh, and the American tories. As an advanced guard, they are formidable, as an army they are nothing. But their cruelty ſeems to augment in proportion as their numbers diminiſh; it is ſuch as to render it impoſſible for the Americans to conſent to have them long for

neighbours; and a neceſſary conſequence of a peace, if favourable to the Congreſs, muſt be their total deſtruction, or their excluſion at leaſt from all the country within the lakes *. Thoſe who are attached to the Americans, and live in ſome manner under their laws, ſuch as the Mohawks of the environs of Schenectady, and part of the Oneidas, will ultimately become civilized and be confounded with them. This is what every feeling and reaſonable man ſhould wiſh, who, preferring the intereſts of humanity to thoſe of his own celebrity, diſdains the little artifice ſo often and ſo ſucceſsfully

* Dr. Franklin, whoſe amiable and philoſophic mind ſincerely laments all the evils attendant on humanity, uſed frequently to regret the painful neceſſity under which he foreſaw America would ſhortly find herſelf of uſing violence againſt the ſavages, from the bloody ſcenes into which they were led by the policy of the Engliſh Government. The Tranſlator has often heard him expreſs himſelf with the utmoſt ſenſibility on the ſubject, and ſuggeſt many expedients to prevent the probability of matters being urged to that horrid extremity, but reaſon, philoſophy and eloquence were in vain oppoſed by good and wiſe men to the headlong career of that mad war. TRANSLATOR.

ceſsfully employed, of extolling ignorance and poverty, to extort praiſes in ſenates and academies.

I had time enough to make theſe and a great many other reflexions, whilſt, by the ſole light of the ſnow, I was paſſing through theſe majeſtic woods, where the ſilence which reigns in the night is ſeldom diſturbed even in the day. I did not arrive at the apartments of the Vicomte de Noailles till near eight o'clock, where ſupper, tea, and converſation detained me till midnight. Still nothing was decided reſpecting our journey, and the news we had received was by no means ſatisfactory. The next morning I received a letter from General Schuyler, to inform me, that having ſent the evening before, he was told that I was gone to Schenectady, and from thence to Saratogo; but that he was glad to know I was detained at Albany, for that finding himſelf much better of his gout, he intended accompanying me the next day. He requeſted me to come and paſs the evening with him, to ſettle our route, and our departure. I anſwered his letter, by accept-

ing of all his propoſitions, and employed part of the morning in walking about Albany, not without taking many precautions, for the ſtreets were covered with ice. My firſt viſit was to the artillery park, or rather the trophies of the Americans; for there is no other artillery in this place than eight handſome mortars, and twenty ammunition waggons, which made part of Burgoyne's artillery *. I entered a large workſhop where they were employed in making muſquets for the army. The barrels of theſe muſquets, and the bayonets, are forged a few miles from Albany, and poliſhed and finiſhed here. I enquired the price of them, and found that the weapon compleat coſts about five dollars. The armourers are enliſted, and receive beſides their rations, very conſiderable ſalaries, if they were well paid. From thence I went to another barrack ſituated towards the weſt of the town, which

* The principal part of Burgoyne's artillery was conveyed to Philadelphia, where I ſaw a very fine park, formed of them and the pieces taken from the Heſſians, in various engagements.

TRANSLATOR.

which ſerves as a military hoſpital. The ſick are ſerved by women. Each of them has a ſeparate bed, and they appear in general to be well taken care of, and kept very clean. At dinner all the company who were to be of the Saratoga party collected at my lodgings, and we went afterwards to General Schuyler's to ſettle matters for our journey, and, in conſequence, ſet out the next day at ſun riſe, in five different ſledges. General Schuyler took me in his own. We paſſed the Mohawk river on the ice, a mile above the cataract. It was almoſt the firſt attempt, and ſucceeded with all but Major Popham, whoſe two horſes broke through the ice, and ſunk into the river. This event will appear fatal to Europeans; but let them not be alarmed at the conſequences. It is a very common accident, and is remedied in two ways: one by dragging the horſes on the ice by force, and, if poſſible, by the help of a lever or plank to raiſe them up; the other by ſtrangling them with their halter, or the reins: as ſoon as they have loſt their reſpiration, and motion, they float on the water,

and

and are lifted by their fore-feet on the ice; the ſtricture is looſſened, they are bled, and in a quarter of an hour are reinſtated in the harneſs. As there were a great many of us, the firſt method which is the ſureſt, was employed. All this may be eaſily conceived, but it will be aſked what becomes of the ſledge, and how one does to approach the gulph opened by the horſes? The anſwer is, that theſe animals being much heavier than the ſledge, and ſupported by four ſlender baſes, break the ice under their feet, without cauſing the ſledge to ſink, which is light of itſelf, and its weight ſupported by long pieces of wood which ſerve by way of ſhafts. The travellers are not leſs ſafe, the ice being always thicker than is neceſſary to bear them. As for the horſes, they eaſily keep themſelves up on the ſurface of the water, by means of their fore-legs, and by reſting their heads upon the ice.

The accident which happened to Major Popham's ſledge, did not detain us above ſeven or eight minutes; but we went a little aſtray in the woods we had to paſs, to reach

reach the high road. We come into it between *Half Moon* and *Stillwater*. A mile from thence, I ſaw on the left, an opening in the wood, and a pretty extenſive plain, below which runs a creek, and obſerved to General Schuyler, that there muſt be a good poſition there: he told me I was not deceived, and that it had been reconnoitred for that purpoſe in caſe of need. The creek is called *Anthony's Rill*; the word *rill*, amongſt the Dutch, having the ſame ſignification as *creek* with the Americans. Three miles farther on, we traverſed a hamlet called *Stillwater Landing-place*, for it is here that boats coming down from Saratoga are obliged to ſtop to avoid the rapids. From hence there is a portage of eight or ten miles to the place where the river is navigable. I imagine the name of *Stillwater* is derived from its tranquillity here previous to the commencement of the rapids. General Schuyler ſhewed me ſome redoubts he had conſtructed to defend the park, where his boats and proviſions were collected, after the avacuation of fort *Anne* and fort *Edward*. We ſtopped there to refreſh our

horſes. The General had given the rendezvous to a militia officer, called *Swang*, who lives in this neighbourhood, and ſerved in the army of General Gates; he put me into his hands, and continued his route to Saratoga, to prepare our reception. I preſently got into a ſledge with my guide, and, at the end of three miles, we ſaw two houſes on the bank of the river; it was here that General Gates had his right, and his bridge of boats defended by a redoubt on each bank. We alighted to examine this intereſting poſition, which diſſipated all the hopes of Burgoyne, and prepared his ruin. I ſhall attempt to give ſome idea of it, which though incompleat indeed, may throw ſome light on the relations of General Burgoyne, and even ſerve to rectify his errors.

The eminencies, called *Breams Heights*, from whence this famous camp is named, are only a part of thoſe high grounds which extend along the right bank of the Hudſon, from the river Mohawk to that of Saratoga. At the ſpot choſen by General Gates for his poſition, they form, on the ſide of the

the river, two different ſlopes, or terraces. In mounting the firſt ſlope, are three redoubts placed in parallel directions. In front of the laſt, on the north ſide, is a little hollow, beyond which the ground riſes again, on which are three more redoubts, placed nearly in the ſame direction as the former. In front of them is a deep ravine which runs from the weſt, in which is a ſmall creek. This ravine takes its riſe in the woods, and all the ground on the right of it is extremely thick ſet with wood. If you will now return upon your ſteps, place yourſelf near the firſt redoubts you ſpoke of, and mount to the ſecond ſlope proceeding to the weſtward, you will find, on the moſt elevated platform, a large entrenchment which was parallel with the river, and then turns towards the north-weſt, where it terminates in ſome pretty ſteep ſummits, which were likewiſe fortified by ſmall redoubts. To the left of theſe heights, and at a place where the declivity becomes more gentle, begins another entrenchment which turns towards the weſt, and makes two or three angles, always carried over the

the tops of the heights to the ſouth-weſt. Towards the northweſt, you come out of the lines to deſcend another platform, which preſents a poſition the more favourable, as it commands the ſurrounding woods, and reſiſts every thing which might turn the left flank of the army. It is here that Arnold was encamped with the advanced guard.

If you deſcend again from this height, proceeding towards the north, you are preſently in the midſt of the woods near *Freeman's Farm*, and on the ground where the actions of the 19th of September, and the 7th of October happened. I avoid the word *field of battle*; for theſe two engagements were in the woods, and on ground ſo interſected and covered, that it is impoſſible either *to conceive or diſcover the ſmalleſt reſemblance between it and the plan given to the public by General Burgoyne.* But what appears to me very clear is, that this General who was encamped about four miles from the camp of *Breams's Heights*, wiſhing to approach, and reconnoitre the avenues to it, marched through the woods in four columns,

lumns, and that having ſeveral ravines to paſs, he made *General Frazer*, with the advanced guard, turn them at their origin; that two other columns traverſed the ravines, and the woods, as well as they could, without either communicating or materially waiting for each other; that the left column, chiefly compoſed of artillery, followed the courſe of the river, where the ground is more level, and built bridges over the ravines and rivulets, which are deeper on that ſide, as they all terminate in the river; that the engagement firſt began with the *rifleme*n and American militia, who were ſupported as neceſſity required, without any prior diſpoſition; that the advanced guard, and the right column were the firſt engaged, and that the combat laſted until the columns on the left arrived, that is to ſay, till ſunſet; that the Americans then retired to their camp, where they had taken care to convey their wounded; that the Engliſh advanced guard, and the right column greatly ſuffered; both one and the other having been very long engaged in the woods without any ſupport.

General

General Burgoyne purchaſed dearly the frivolous honour of ſleeping on the field of battle: he now encamped at Freeman's farm, ſo near the American camp, that it was impoſſible for him to manœuvre, ſo that he found himſelf in the ſituation of a cheſs-player, who ſuffers himſelf to be ſtale mated. In this poſition he remained until the 7th of October, when ſeeing his proviſions expended, hearing nothing of Clinton, and being too near the enemy to retreat without danger, he tried a ſecond attack, and again made an attempt for his advanced guard to turn their left. The enemy, with whom the woods were filled, penetrated his deſign, themſelves turned the left flank of the corps which threatened theirs, put them to rout, and purſued them ſo far as to find themſelves, without knowing it, oppoſite the camp of the Germans. This camp was ſituated *en potence*, and a little in the rear of the line. Arnold and Lincoln, animated with ſucceſs, attacked and carried the entrenchments: both of them bought the victory at the price of their blood; each of

of them had a leg broke * with muſquet ſhot. I ſaw the ſpot where Arnold, uniting the hardineſs of a *jockey* † with that of a ſoldier, leaped his horſe over the entrenchment of the enemy. It was like all thoſe of this country, a ſort of parapet, formed by the trunks of trees piled one upon another. This action was very briſk, to which the fir trees, which are torn by muſquet and cannon ſhot, will long bear teſtimony; for the term of their exiſtence ſeems as remote, as is the period of their origin.

I continued reconnoitring here till night; ſometimes walking in the ſnow, where I ſunk to the knees, and ſometimes travelling ſtill leſs ſucceſsfully in a ſledge, my conductor having taken care to overſet me, very gently indeed, in a great heap of ſnow. After ſurveying Burgoyne's lines, I at length got down to the high road, paſſing through a field where he had eſtabliſhed his hoſpital. We then travelled more eaſily, and I got to Saratoga at ſeven in the evening, after

* Lincoln was not wounded till the next day.

† The name given in America to horſe-dealers, as well as thoſe who take care of horſes.

ter a ſeven and thirty miles journey, we found good rooms well warmed, an excellent ſupper, and had a gay and agreeable converſation; for General Schuyler, like many European huſbands, is ſtill more amiable when he is abſent from his wife. He gave us inſtructions for our next day's expedition, as well to Fort *Edward*, as to the great cataract of Hudſon's river, eight miles above that fort, and ten from Lake *George*.

In conſequence of theſe arrangements, we ſet out the next morning at eight o'clock, with the Majors *Græme* and *Popham*, whom he had requeſted to accompany us. We remounted the right bank of the Hudſon for near three miles, before we found a ſafe place to paſs the river in our ſledges. That we made choice of expoſed us to no danger, the ice being as thick as we could wiſh it; but, on approaching the oppoſite ſide, the banks appeared to me ſo high and ſteep that I could not conceive how we ſhould get up them. As it is my principle to form no judgment of any thing I do not underſtand, and always to conform myſelf in travelling as in navigation, to the perſons who

who are habituated to the roads, I was ſitting quietly in my ſledge, waiting the event, when my conductor, a farmer of the country, *called* his horſes with a ferocious cry, ſomething like that of the ſavages; and in an inſtant, without a ſtroke of the whip, they ſet off with the ſledge, and, in three bounds, were at the top of a precipice, of 20 feet high, nearly perpendicular.

The road to Fort Edward is almoſt always on the ſide of the river, but you frequently loſe ſight of it in the fir-woods you paſs through. From time to time you diſcover tolerable handſome houſes on the two banks. That of the unfortunate *Miſs Mac Rea*, who was killed by the ſavages, was pointed out to me. If the whigs were ſuperſtitious, they would attribute this event to the Divine vengeance. The parents of Miſs Mac Rea were whigs, nor did ſhe belye the ſentiments with which they had inſpired her, until ſhe became acquainted with an Engliſh officer at New-York, who triumphed at once over her virtue, and her patriotiſm. From that moment ſhe eſpouſed the intereſts of England, and waited till ſhe had

an opportunity of marrying her lover. The war which ſoon extended to New-York, as well as Boſton, obliged her father to retire to his country-houſe, which he abandoned immediately on the approach of Burgoyne's army. But Miſs Mac Rea's lover was in this army; ſhe wiſhed to ſee him again as a conqueror, to marry him, and then partake of his toils and his ſucceſſes. Unfortunately the Indians compoſed the vanguard of this army; theſe ſavages are not much accuſtomed to diſtinguiſh friends from foes; they pillaged the houſe of Miſs Mac Rea, and carried her off. When they had conducted her to their camp, it was a matter of diſpute to whom ſhe ſhould belong; they could not agree, and to terminate the quarrel, ſome of them killed her with a *tomohawk*. The recital of this ſad cataſtrophe, whilſt it made me deplore the miſeries of war, concentrated all my intereſt in the perſon of the Engliſh officer, to whom it was allowable to liſten at once to his paſſion and his duty. I know that a death ſo cruel and unforſeen, would furniſh a very pathetic ſubject for a drama, or an elegy; but nothing ſhort of the charms of eloquence

and

and poetry is capable of moving the heart, for ſuch a deſtiny, by exhibiting only the effect, and throwing the cauſe into the ſhade; for ſuch is the true character of love, that all the noble and generous affections ſeem to be its natural attendants, and if it be that it can ſometimes ally itſelf with blameable circumſtances, every thing at leaſt which tends to humiliate or degrade it, either annihilates or diſguiſes its genuine features.

As you approach Fort Edward the houſes become more rare. This fort is built at ſixteen miles from Saratoga, in a little valley near the river, on the only ſpot which is not covered with wood, and where you can have a proſpect to the diſtance of a muſquet-ſhot around you. Formerly it conſiſted of a ſquare, fortified by two baſtions on the eaſt-ſide, and by two demi-baſtions on the ſide of the river; but this old fortification is abandoned, becauſe it was too much commanded, and a large redoubt, with a ſimple parapet and a wretched palliſade, is built on a more elevated ſpot: within are ſmall barracks for about two hundred ſoldiers. Such is Fort Edward, ſo much ſpoken of in Europe, altho' it could in no time have been

able to reſiſt five hundred men, with four pieces of cannon. I ſtopped here an hour to refreſh my horſes, and about noon ſet off to proceed as far as the cataract; which is eight miles beyond it. On leaving the valley, and purſuing the road to Lake George, is a tolerable military poſition which was occupied in the war before the laſt: it is a ſort of entrenched camp, adapted to abattis, guarding the paſſage from the woods, and commanding the valley.

I had ſcarcely loſt ſight of Fort Edward, before the ſpectacle of devaſtation preſented itſelf to my eyes, and continued to diſtreſs them as far as the place I ſtopped at. Peace and Induſtry had conducted cultivators amidſt theſe antient foreſts, men content and happy, before the period of this war. Thoſe who were in Burgoyne's way alone experienced the horrors of his expedition; but on the laſt invaſion of the ſavages, the deſolation has ſpread from Fort *Schuyler*, (or Fort *Stanwiſe*) even to Fort Edward; I beheld nothing around me but the remains of conflagrations; a few bricks, proof againſt the fire, were the only indica-

tions of ruined houſes; whilſt the fences ſtill entire, and cleared out lands, announced that theſe deplorable habitations had once been the abode of riches, and of happineſs. Arrived at the height of the cataract it was neceſſary to quit our ſledges, and walk half a mile to the bank of the river. The ſnow was fifteen inches deep, which rendered this walk rather difficult, and obliged us to proceed in Indian files, in order to make a path. Each of us put ourſelves alternately at the head of this little column, as the wild geeſe relieve each other to occupy the ſummit of the angle they form in their flight. But had our march been ſtill more difficult, the ſight of the cataract was an ample recompence. It is not a ſheet of water as at *Cohos*, and at *Totohaw*: the river confined, and interrupted in its courſe by different rocks, glides through the midſt of them, and precipitating itſelf obliquely forms ſeveral caſcades. That of Cohos is more majeſtic, this, more terrible: the Mohawk River ſeems to fall from its own dead weight; that of Hudſon frets, and becomes enraged, it foams and forms

whirlpools, and flies like a ſerpent making its eſcape, ſtill continuing its menaces by horrible hiſſings.

It was near two when we regained our ſledges, having two-and-twenty miles to return to Saratoga, ſo that we trod back our ſteps as faſt as poſſible; but we ſtill had to halt at Fort Edward to refreſh our horſes. We employed this time, as we had done in the morning, in warming ourſelves by the fire of the officers who command the garriſon. They are five in number, and have about one hundred and fifty ſoldiers. They are ſtationed in this deſert for the whole winter, and I leave the reader to imagine whether this garriſon be much more gay than thoſe of Gravelines, or Briancon *. We ſet off again in an hour, and night ſoon overtook us; but before it was dark, I had the ſatisfaction to ſee the firſt game I had met with in my journey: it was a bevy of quails; by ſome called partridges, though they have a much greater reſemblance of quails. They were perched to the number of ſeven,

* Two of the moſt melancholy garriſons in France. TRANSLATOR.

ſeven, upon a fence. I got out of my ſledge to have a nearer view of them; they ſuffered me to approach within four paces, and to make them riſe I was obliged to throw my cane at them; they all went off together, in a flight ſimilar to that of partridges, and like them they are ſedentary *.

Our

* This bird can neither be claſſed in the ſpecies of quails, nor in that of partridges; it is larger than the former, and ſmaller than the latter; the feathers of the wings and body are nearly of the ſame colour with the grey partridge, thoſe of the belly are mixed with grey and black, like the *bartavelle*. The neck of the cock is white, that of the hen, yellow, both of them have a handſome black collar. It whiſtles like a quail, but with more force; and has four notes, whereas the quail has only three. In other reſpects its manners reſemble more thoſe of the red partridge than the quail, for it perches, and is always in a flock; it haunts the woods and moraſſes. This bird is very common in America, more ſo to the ſouthward, than in the northern parts. It is no exaggeration to aſſert that in one winter only, and in a circle of five or ſix leagues, the officers in winter quarters at Williamſburgh and York, killed upwards of ſix thouſand, and that they bought as many of the negroes, which they had taken in little ſnares, yet it was difficult to perceive any diminution of their numbers the following ſpring.

Our return was quick and fortunate: we had no accident to fear but at the ſecond paſſage of the river, and the deſcent of the precipice we had mounted. I waited for this freſh trial with as much confidence as the former; but a ſledge, which was before mine, ſtopping at that place, and the darkneſs of the night preventing me from diſtinguiſhing any thing, I imagined that the company were going to alight, the firſt ſledge was that of the Vicomte de Noailles, and the Comte de Damas; but I was ſcarcely alighted, before I ſaw this ſledge ſet out with all its lading, and ſlide down the precipice with ſuch rapidity that it could not be ſtopped at thirty yards from the bottom. They make no more ceremony in deſcending theſe precipices, than in mounting them: the horſes accuſtomed to this manœuvre, precipitate themſelves, as rapidly as they launch off the carriage, ſo that the ſledge ſliding like the *Ramaſſe* of mount Cenis, cannot touch their hind legs and make them fall.

At half paſt ſix, we reached General Schuyler's, where we ſpent our evening as agreeably as the former.

The

The 31ſt we got on horſeback at eight o'clock, and Mr. Schuyler conducted us himſelf to the camp occupied by the Engliſh when General Burgoyne capitulated. We could not have a better guide, but he was abſolutely neceſſary for us in every reſpect; for beſides that this event happened before his eyes, and that he was better able than any body to give us an account of it, no perſon but the proprietor of the ground himſelf was able to conduct us ſafely thro' the woods; the fences and entrenchments being covered a foot deep with ſnow.

In throwing your eyes upon the chart, you will ſee that Saratoga is ſituated on the bank of a ſmall river which comes from a lake of that name, and falls into the Hudſon. On the right bank of the *Fiſh-Kill*, the name of that little river, ſtood formerly a handſome country-houſe belonging to General Schuyler; a large farm depending on it, two or three ſaw-mills, a meeting-houſe, and three or four middling houſes, compoſed all the habitations of this celebrated place, the name of which will be handed down to the lateſt poſterity. After the

the affair of the 7th of October, General Burgoyne began his retreat; he marched in the night between the 8th and 9th, but did not paſs the creek till the 13th, ſo much difficulty he had in dragging his artillery, which he *perſiſted in preſerving*, altho' the greateſt part of his horſes were killed, or dead with hunger. He took four days therefore to retire eight miles, which *gave the Americans time* to follow him on the right bank of the Hudſon, and to get before him on the left bank, where they occupied in force all the paſſages. General Burgoyne had ſcarcely reached the other ſide of the creek, before he ſet fire to General Schuyler's houſe, *rather from malice*, than for the ſafety of his army *; ſince this houſe,

* This is a matter in which General Burgoyne's honour, and humanity, ſeem to be directly called in queſtion. The General in his examination of witneſſes on the enquiry into the failure of his expedition before the Houſe of Commons, was particularly anxious to exculpate himſelf on the ſubject, and to prove not only that it always was *neceſſary* in a military point of view to deſtroy this houſe, but that General Schuyler himſelf afterwards admitted that *neceſſity*— in oppoſition to which we have here the aſſertion of

houſe, ſituated in a bottom, *could afford no advantage to the Americans*, and he left the farm

a man of rank diſtinguiſhed in the military and literary world, as well as the General, who on the teſtimony of General Schuyler, aſſerts, "*Que le General Burgoyne fut à peine de l'autre côté de la creek, qu'il fit mettre le feu à la maiſon du General Schuyler, plutôt par humblur, que pour la ſureté de ſon armée*; &c. &c." The Tranſlator knows General Burgoyne to be a ſoldier of honour, who in that capacity never wiſhes to forget the paramount duties of the citizen, and the man; the Marquis de Cheſtellux too, deſervedly ſtands high in the public eſtimation; it is with infinite concern therefore, that the Tranſlator finds himſelf unable to refute the injurious aſſertion, or reconcile the contradiction. That the matter may be fairly brought to iſſue, he ſubjoins an extract from General Burgoyne's ſpeech in the Houſe of Commons, in anſwer to "a call upon him by *Mr. Wilkes*, for explanation reſpecting the burning of the country during the progreſs of the army under his command." "I am ignorant, ſaid the General, of "any ſuch circumſtance; I do not recollect more "than one accident by fire; I poſitively aſſert there "was no fire by order, or countenance of myſelf, "or any other officer, except at Saratoga. That "diſtrict is the property of Major General Schuyler "of the American troops; there were large barracks "built by him, which took fire the day after the "army arrived on the ground in their retreat; and

farm ſtanding, which is at preſent the only aſylum for the owner. It is here that Mr. Schuyler

" I believe, I need not ſtate any other proof of that " matter being merely accident, than that the bar- " racks were then made uſe of as my hoſpital, and " full of ſick and wounded ſoldiers. General " Schuyler had likewiſe a very good dwelling-houſe, " exceeding large ſtorehouſes, great ſaw-mills, and " other out-buildings, to the value altogether per- " haps of *ten thouſand pounds:* a few days before " the negotiation with General Gates, the enemy " had formed a plan to attack me: a large column " of troops was approaching to paſs the ſmall river, " preparatory to a general action, and was *entirely* " *covered from the fire of my artillery by thoſe buildings.* " Sir, I avow that I gave the order to ſet them on " fire; and in a very ſhort time the whole property " I have deſcribed was conſumed. But, to ſhew " that the perſon moſt deeply concerned in that ca- " lamity did not put the conſtruction upon it which " it has pleaſed the honourable Gentleman to do, I " muſt inform the Houſe, that one of the firſt per- " ſons I ſaw, after the convention was ſigned, was " *General Schuyler.* I expreſſed to him my regret at " the event which had happened, and the reaſons " which occaſioned it. He deſired me to think no " more of it; ſaid *that the occaſion juſtified it*, accord- " ing to the principles and rules of war, and *he* " *ſhould have done the ſame, upon the ſame occaſion*, or " words to that effect. He did more—he ſent an " Aide de Camp to conduct me to Albany, in or-

Schuyler lodged us in ſome temporary apartments he fitted up, until happier times allow him to build another houſe. The creek runs between two ſteep aſcents, the ſummits of which are about the ſame height; it then deſcends by ſeveral rapids which turn the mills: there the ground is more open, and continues ſo to the north river; that is to ſay, for half a mile. As to General Burgoyne's poſition, it is difficult to deſcribe it, becauſe the ground is ſo very irregular, and the General finding himſelf ſurrounded, was obliged to divide his troops into three camps, forming three different fronts;

" der, as he expreſſed, to procure me better quarters " than a ſtranger might be able to find. This gen- " tleman conducted me to a very elegant houſe, and, " to my great ſurprize, preſented me to Mrs. Schuy- " ler and her family: and in this General's houſe " I remained during my whole ſtay at Albany, with " a *table of more than twenty covers* for me and my " friends, and every other poſſible demonſtration of " hoſpitality; a ſituation painful as it is true in " point of ſenſibility at the time, but which I now " contemplate with ſome ſatisfaction, as carrying " undeniable teſtimony how little I deſerved the " charges of the honourable gentleman."

TRANSLATOR.

fronts; one facing the creek, another Hudſon's river, and the third the mountains to the weſtward. General Burgoyne's plan gives a tolerable juſt idea of this poſition, which was not ill taken, and is only defective on the ſide of the Germans, where the ground forms a riſing, the declivity of which was againſt them. All that it is neceſſary to obſerve is, that the woods continually riſe towards the weſt; ſo that the General might very well occupy ſome advantageous eminences, but never the ſummits. Accordingly, General Gates who arrived at Saratoga, almoſt as ſoon as the Engliſh paſſed two thouſand men over the creek, with orders to begin to fire on the 14th and conſiderably incommode the Engliſh. General Schuyler criticiſes this poſition; he pretends that this corps ſo advanced as to be in danger, without being ſtrong enough to oppoſe the retreat of the enemy. But when we conſider that theſe two thouſand men were poſted in very thick woods; that they were protected by abattis; had a ſecure retreat in the immenſe foreſt in their rear, and that they had only to haraſs a flying enemy,

enemy, whoſe courage was broken, every military man will think with me that this was rather the criticiſm of a ſevere rival, than of a well informed and methodical tactician. Be this as it may, it is very certain that Burgoyne had no other alternative than to let his troops be ſlaughtered, or capitulate. His army had only five days proviſion, and it was impoſſible for him to retain his poſition. It was propoſed to him to reſtore an old bridge of boats, which had been conſtructed in the very front of his camp; but a corps of two thouſand men were already poſted on the heights on the oppoſite ſide of the river, where they had raiſed a battery of two pieces of cannon. Had he undertaken to remount by the right bank, to attain the fords which are near Fort Edward, he had ravines to paſs and bridges to repair; beſides that theſe defiles were already occupied by the militia, and the vanguard alone muſt have been engaged with them, whilſt he had a whole army on his rear, and on his flanks. He had ſcarce time to deliberate, the cannon ſhot began to ſhower into the camp; one of

of which fell in the houſe where the council of war was holding, and obliged them to quit it to take refuge in the woods.

Let us now compare the ſituation of General Burgoyne, collecting his trophies, and publiſhing his inſolent manifeſto at Ticonderoga, with that in which he now ſtood, when, vanquiſhed, and ſurrounded as he was by a troop of peaſants, not a place was left him even to diſcuſs the terms of ſupplication. I confeſs that when I was conducted to the ſpot where the Engliſh laid down their arms, and to that where they filed off before Gate's army, I could not but partake of the triumph of the Americans, and at the ſame time admire their magnanimity; for the ſoldiers and officers beheld their preſumptuous and ſanguinary enemies paſs, without offering the ſmalleſt inſult, without ſuffering an inſulting ſmile or geſture to eſcape them. This majeſtic ſilence conveyed a very ſtriking refutation of the vain declarations of the Engliſh General, and ſeemed to atteſt all the rights of our allies to the victory. Chance alone gave riſe to an alluſion with which General

Burgoyne

Burgoyne was very ſenſibly affected. It is the cuſtom in England, and in America, on approaching any perſon for the firſt time, to ſay, *I am very happy to ſee you*; General Gates chanced to make uſe of this expreſſion in accoſting General Burgoyne: *I believe you are*; replied the General, *the fortune of the day is entirely yours*. General Gates pretended to give no attention to this anſwer, and conducted Burgoyne to his quarters, where he gave him a good dinner, as well as to the principal part of the Engliſh officers. Every body ate and drank heartily, and ſeemed mutually to forget their misfortunes, or their ſucceſſes.

Before dinner, and at the moment when the Americans were ſtriving who ſhould entertain the Engliſh officers, ſomebody came to aſk where Madame *Reideſel*, the wife of the Brunſwick General, was to be conducted. Mr. Schuyler, who had followed the army as a volunteer, ſince he had quitted the command, ordered her to be ſhewn to his tent, where he went ſoon after, and found her trembling and ſpeechleſs, expecting to find in every American a

ſavage, like thoſe who had followed the Engliſh army. She had with her two charming little girls, about ſix or ſeven years old. General Schuyler careſſed them greatly; the ſight of this touched Madame de Reideſel and removed her apprehenſion in an inſtant; *you are tender and ſenſible*, ſaid ſhe, *you muſt then be generous, and I am happy to have fallen into your hands.*

In conſequence of the capitulation, the Engliſh army was conducted to Boſton. During their march the troops encamped, but lodgings were to be procured for the Generals, and there being ſome difficulty in procuring near Albany a proper quarter for General Burgoyne and his ſuite, Mr. Schuyler offered him his handſome houſe. He was himſelf detained by buſineſs at Saratoga, where he remained to viſit the ruins of his other houſe, which General Burgoyne had juſt deſtroyed; but he wrote to his wife to prepare every thing for giving him the beſt reception, and his intentions were perfectly fulfilled. Burgoyne was extremely well received by Mrs. Schuyler, and her little family; he was lodged in the beſt apartment

apartment in the houſe. An excellent ſupper was ſerved him in the evening, the honours of which were done with ſo much grace, that he was affected even to tears; and could not help ſaying, with a deep ſigh, *Indeed this is doing too much for the man who has ravaged their lands, and burnt their aſylum.* The next morning however, he was again reminded of his diſgraces by an adventure which would have appeared gay to any one but him. It was always innocently that he was afflicted. His bed was prepared in a large room; but as he had a numerous ſuite, or *family*, ſeveral mattreſſes were ſpread upon the floor for ſome officers to ſleep near him. Mr. Schuyler's ſecond ſon, a little ſpoilt child of about ſeven years old, very forward and arch, as all the American children are, but very amiable, was running all the morning about the houſe, according to cuſtom, and opening the door of the ſaloon, he burſt out a laughing on ſeeing all the Engliſh collected, and, ſhut it after him, crying, *Ye are all my priſoners*: this ſtroke of nature was

cruel, and rendered them more melancholy than the preceding evening.

I hope I ſhall be pardoned theſe little anecdotes, which only appeared intereſting to myſelf, perhaps ſolely from their proceeding from the ſource, and being acquired upon the ſpot. Beſides, a plain journal merits ſome indulgence, and when one does not write hiſtory, it is allowable to write little ſtories. Henceforth I have only to take leave of General Schuyler, detained by buſineſs at Saratoga, and to tread back my ſteps as faſt as poſſible to Newport.

In repaſſing near Breams's Height, and Stillwater, I had again an opportunity of examining the right flank of General Burgoyne's camp, of which it ſeemed to me that his plan gives a pretty accurate idea. I was aſſured that I might return to Albany by the eaſtern road, but on arriving at *Half Moon*, I learnt that the ice was broke in ſeveral places, ſo that after repoſing ſome time in a handſome inn, kept by Madam *People*, a Dutchman's widow, I took the road by the Mohawk river, which I paſſed without accident, and arrived at Albany about

about ſix in the evening. We immediately aſſembled (I ſpeak only of the ſix French travellers) to concert meaſures for our return. Not a moment was to be loſt, for the wind having got to the ſouthward, the thaw was beginning; and it might very well happen that we ſhould be detained a conſiderable time at Albany: for, when you cannot paſs the river on the ice, you are ſometimes obliged to wait eight or ten days before it is navigable, and you can paſs the ferry. It was neceſſary therefore to ſet out immediately; but as we were too many to travel together, it was determined that the Vicomte de Noailles and his two companions ſhould ſet off the next morning at day-break, and ſleep thirty miles from Albany; and that I ſhould ſet out at noon, and ſtay all night at *Kinderhook*. The Vicomte de Noailles had left his horſes on the other ſide of the river, and had already ſent over his ſledge, nothing therefore ſtood in the way of his departure, the ice being certainly thick enough for him to paſs on foot. My ſituation was very different; I had, at Albany, two ſledges, which belonged

to the State, and were furniſhed me by the Aid-Quarter Maſter General, an excellent man, called *Quakerbuſh*. My intention was to pay for them; but he would not allow it, aſſuring me that I had only to deliver them to the Quarter-Maſter of Rhode iſland, who would return them by the firſt opportunity. This is a very convenient arrangement for the military on the continent, and for all ſuch as are employed in commiſſions for the public ſervice: each State maintains horſes for travelling, nothing more being requiſite than to deliver them to the Quarter-Maſter of the place at which you leave them. In the Northern States, there are ſledges alſo for the ſame purpoſe.

As we were deliberating on our journey, Colonel *Hughes*, Quarter-Maſter of the State of New-York, came to call upon us: he had juſt arrived from an expedition towards Fiſh-Kill, and teſtified great regret at not having been at Albany during our ſtay. I muſt repeat here what I have already ſaid, that it is impoſſible to imagine a more frank, and more noble politeneſs, a more courteous behaviour, than I experienced from

from the greateſt part of the American officers with whom I had any concern. Mr. Hughes was ſo good as undertake to conduct me to the other ſide of the river, and promiſed to call upon me the next day at eleven o'clock.

I had travelled far enough in the day to hope for a quiet ſleep, but, at four in the morning, I was awakened by a muſquet fired cloſe to my windows: I liſtened, but heard not the ſmalleſt noiſe, or motion in the ſtreet, which made me imagine it was ſome muſquet diſcharged of itſelf without cauſing any accident. I again attempted to go to ſleep, but a quarter of an hour after a freſh muſquet or piſtol ſhot interrupted my repoſe; this was followed by ſeveral others; ſo that I had no longer any doubt that it was ſome rejoicing, or feaſt, like our village chriſtenings. The hour indeed ſtruck me as unuſual, but at length a number of voices mingled with muſquettry, crying out, *new year*, reminded me that we were at the firſt of January, and I concluded that it was thus the Americans celebrate that event. Though this manner of proclaiming it was not,

not, I muſt own, very pleaſing to me, there was nothing for it but patience; but at the end of half an hour, I heard a confuſed noiſe of upwards of a hundred perſons, chiefly children, or young people, aſſembled under my windows, and I very ſoon had farther indication of their proximity, for they fired ſeveral muſquet ſhot, knocked rudely at the door, and threw ſtones againſt my windows. Cold and indolence ſtill kept me in bed, but Mr. Lynch got up, and came into my chamber to tell me that theſe people certainly meant to do me honour, and get ſome money from me. I deſired him to ſtep down, and give them two Louis; he found them already maſters of the houſe, and drinking my landlord's rum. In a quarter of an hour, they went off to viſit other ſtreets, and continued their noiſe till day-light. On riſing, I learnt from my landlord, that it was the cuſtom of the country for the young folks, the ſervants, and even the negroes, to go from tavern to tavern, and to other houſes, to wiſh a good new year, and aſk for drink, ſo that there was no particular compliment to me in this affair,

affair, and I found that, after the example of the Roman Emperors, I had made a largeſs to the people. In the morning, when I went out to take leave of General Clinton, I met nothing but drunken people in the ſtreets, but what aſtoniſhed me the moſt was to ſee them not only walk, but run upon the ice without falling, or making a falſe ſtep, whilſt it was with the utmoſt difficulty I kept upon my legs.

As ſoon as my ſledges were ready, I took one of them to go and bid adieu to Mrs. Schuyler and her family, whence I returned to Colonel Hughes, who was waiting for me at the entrance of the town. He had learnt, ſince he left us, that the Baron de Monteſquieu was grandſon of the author of *the Spirit of Laws*. Rejoiced at this diſcovery, he deſired me to introduce him a ſecond time to the gentleman who bore ſo reſpectable a name; and a few minutes after, as I was expreſſing my ſenſibility for the ſervices he had done us, and my regret at the ſame time at not having it in my power to repay them, he ſaid to me with a ſentiment truly amiable, "Well then! "ſince

" ſince you wiſh to do ſomething for me, " try to procure a French copy of the Spi- " rit of Laws. I do not ſpeak your lan- " guage, but I underſtand your books, and " ſhall be happy to read that in the origi- " nal." I propoſed to ſend him a copy, and have been ſo lucky as to be able to fulfill my promiſe on my return to Newport. After this converſation he took me to the river-ſide, at the place he thought the ſafeſt; but, as I was about to venture myſelf, the firſt object I beheld was a ſledge, the horſes of which were ſinking under the ice, at twenty paces from me. Judge of my conſternation; I muſt tread back my ſteps, and remain perhaps a week at Albany till the thaw was compleat, and the river free from floating ice. Colonel Hughes bid me to return to my inn, and remain there quietly, until he ſent a man and horſe along the river to enquire for a place to paſs over. Three ſledges, however, with rum for the ſtate ſtorehouſes appeared on the other ſide, and ſeemed determined to riſk the paſſage, but he ſent a man on foot to ſtop them, after which I left him ſorrowfully enough.

About

About one o'clock, as I was reading by my fireſide, Mr. Hughes's Secretary entered, and told me that the ſledges he had ſent to ſtop, had perſiſted in paſſing, and ſucceeded by avoiding the hole made by the horſes I had ſeen ſinking, and which were extricated with great difficulty. As the thaw continued, I had not a moment to loſe, the horſes were inſtantly put to, and I ſet out, under the auſpices of Colonel Hughes, who was waiting for me at the river-ſide. As ſoon as I got over, I parted from him; but had ſtill half a mile to go upon the ice, before I could get to a landing place which led me to the high road; all danger was now over, and I reached Kinderhook with eaſe towards ſix o'clock.

I ſet out the next morning at nine, and after paſſing the bridge of Kinderhook, left the Clavarack road on the right, to follow that of *Nobletown*. I ſtopped in this townſhip, and alighted at *Makingſton's Tavern*, a ſmall neat inn, in which two travellers may be conveniently lodged. Having an opportunity of converſing with the couſin and neighbour of Mr. Makingſton, of the ſame

ſame name with himſelf; he told me he had been a Major in the American army, and received a ball through his thigh in Canada. He ſaid that his nerves, irritated with the wound, became contracted, and he halted for upwards of a year; but that at the affair of Prince-Town, after travelling eighteen miles on foot, he happening to leap over a fence, by this effort the contracted nerves broke or rather lengthened themſelves, ſo that he has never ſince been lame.

As ſoon as my horſes had reſted a little, I continued my journey, and travelling amongſt woods and mountains, it was night before I got to *Sheffield*. I traverſed this whole town, which is about two miles long, before I got to Mr. *Dewy*'s inn. Sheffield is a very pretty place, there are a good many well built houſes, and the high road that ſeparates them is upwards of a hundred paces wide. My inn gave me pleaſure the moment I entered it; the maſter and miſtreſs of the houſe appeared polite and well educated; but I admired above all a girl of twelve years old, who had all the beauty of her age, and whom *Greuze* would have been happy

happy to have taken for a model, when he painted his charming picture of the young girl crying for the loſs of her canary bird. When I was ſhewn into my chamber, I amuſed myſelf in looking at ſome books ſcattered on the tables. The firſt I opened was the Abridgment of Newton's Philoſophy: this diſcovery induced me to put ſome queſtions to my landlord on phyſics, and geometry, with which I found him well acquainted, and that he was beſides very modeſt, and very good company. He is a *ſurveyor*, a very active employment in a country where there is perpetually land to meaſure, and boundaries to fix.

The 3d in the morning, I was ſorry to find that the weather, which had been hitherto uncertain, was ended in a thaw. I had to traverſe the *green woods*, a rugged, difficult, and deſert country. The ſnow remaining on the ground, and giving me ſtill hopes of being able to continue my route in a ſledge, I kept mine, and proceeded tolerably well as far as *Canaan*, a ſmall town ſituated on the left bank of the *Houſatonick*, ſeven miles from *Sheffield Meeting-houſe*; there

there I turned to the left, and began to climb the mountains; unfortunately the ſnow failed me where it was the moſt neceſſary, and I was obliged to walk almoſt always on foot to relieve my horſes, which were ſometimes labouring to drag the ſledge out of the mud, and at others to pull it over ſtones two or three feet high. This road is, in fact, ſo rough, that it is hardly poſſible to make uſe of ſledges, unleſs there be a foot and a half of ſnow upon the ground. It was with the utmoſt difficulty therefore I travelled fifteen miles to a wretched inn dependent on *Norfolk*. On leaving this inn, I got into the green woods. This foreſt is part of the ſame chain of mountains I had paſſed in going to Fiſh-Kill by the Litchfield road; but here the trees are ſuperb; they are firs, but ſo ſtrong, ſo ſtraight and lofty, that I doubt whether there are any like them in all North America. I regret that *Salvator Roſa*, or *Gaſpard Pouſſin*, never ſaw the majeſtic and truly *grandioſo* picture a deep valley here affords, through which runs the ſmall river called the *Naragontad*. This valley appears

pears ſtill more narrow from the immenſe firs that ſhade it; ſome of which, riſing in an oblique direction, ſeem to unite their tops purpoſely to intercept the rays of the ſun. When you have paſſed this river, you mount for four or five miles, and then deſcend as much; continually bounding from one large ſtone to another which croſs the road, and give it the reſemblance of ſtairs. Here one of my ſledges broke, and night approaching, I was at a loſs how to repair it, imagining myſelf in an uninhabitable deſert; I tried to get it forward broken as it was, but diſpaired of ſucceeding, when two hundred ſteps further on, I found a ſmall houſe, and oppoſite to it a forge, where the fire was lighted, and the blackſmith at work. A pilot who diſcovers land in unknown ſeas, is not more happy than I was at this ſight. I politely requeſted the honeſt man to leave his work and repair my ſledge, which he agreed to, and I continued to follow that in good condition, on foot, deſpairing of ever ſeeing the other, which arrived however an hour after me. Such are the reſources travellers meet with in America, and

ſuch

ſuch the excellent police * of this country, that no road is deſtitute of what is neceſſary for their wants.

This day was deſtined to be full of contrarieties. It was ſeven in the evening when

* The word *police* is certainly inapplicable in this caſe, although the fact be, as the Marquis ſtates it. The reſpective governments of America, never dreamt of compelling perſons to keep public houſes, or blackſmith's, and wheelwright's ſhops, nor could ſuch a regulation be enforced without infinite difficulty, even in eſtabliſhed and arbitrary governments. A moment's reflection, but above all, a knowledge of the conſtitutions, and the nature of the country, may convince any perſon that this aſſertion, which is repeated in this work, can only be the reſult of miſinformation, or miſapprehenſion. I have ſaid that the exiſtence of theſe reſources is a fact, having experienced their utility and frequency in all parts of the country, but this ariſes from the neceſſity of ſuch occupations, in the innumerable new ſettlements which are ſpread over great part of the continent, wherein every ſettler is obliged more, or leſs, to be a handicraftſman, and where they are all compelled mutually to adminiſter to each other's wants. In them too, the publican, who is ſo far from being precluded from other purſuits, that he frequently becomes the firſt farmer, the firſt magiſtrate, the firſt military officer of the diſtrict, is a neceſſary appendage. TRANSLATOR.

when I arrived at *New Hartford*, where I expected to find a good inn, called *Gilbert's houſe*. Three American officers who, having rode on horſeback, had very eaſily paſſed me, were ſo polite as to go further on, in order to leave me the whole houſe; but I was told, and it was evident on entering, that it was impoſſible I could be accommodated. The maſons were repairing it, and at work every where: ſo that I had now no other hope but at the inn of a Mr. *Caſe*, two miles further, beyond Farmington-river; but learning that the American officers were there, I enquired whether I could not be lodged elſewhere, and was recommended to an old woman, called Mrs. *Wallen*, who formerly kept an inn, and I was flattered with hopes of her receiving me. I continued therefore to follow my ſledge on foot, and having, with difficulty, reached this houſe, I implored Mrs. Wallen's hoſpitality, who conſented, but merely to oblige me. I remained here ſome time, but finding it a very poor houſe, and the apartments wretched, I ſent one of my people to Caſe's, to try if he could find me ſome corner to

lodge in. They contrived to let me have one, and I went thither on foot, leaving my horſes at the other houſe. I was lucky enough to find a good bed, and a ſupper, ſuch as it was, but which appeared to me excellent, leſs becauſe I had a good appetite, than from being waited on by a tall woman of five-and-twenty, handſome, and of a noble appearance. I enquired of my landlady if ſhe was her daughter, but ſhe, a good, fat woman, very induſtrious and talkative, and who had taken me into favour for giving ready anſwers to the queſtions ſhe had put, told me ſhe had never had any children, although ſhe then had one in her arms, which ſhe was dandling and careſſing. To whom does that belong then, ſaid I? To the tall woman you ſee, replied ſhe—and who is her huſband?—She has none—She is a widow then?—No, ſhe was never married. It is an unlucky affair, too long to tell you: the poor girl was in want, I took her to live with me and provide for the mother and child.——Is it advancing a paradox to ſay, that ſuch conduct proves, more than

than any thing, the pure and reſpectable manners of the Americans? With them vice is ſo ſtrange, and ſo rare, that the danger of example has almoſt no effect; ſo that a fault of this nature is regarded only as an accidental error, of which the individual, attacked with it, muſt be cured, without taking any meaſures to eſcape the contagion. I muſt add too, that the acquiſition of a citizen in this country is ſo precious, that a girl, by bringing up her child, ſeems to expiate the weakneſs which brought it into exiſtence. Thus morality, which can never differ from the real intereſt of ſociety, appears ſometimes to be local and modified by times and circumſtances. When an infant without an aſylum, and without property, ſhall become a burthen to the ſtate, a being devoted to misfortune, owing its preſervation to pity alone, and not to the public utility, we ſhall then ſee the mother humbled, nay perhaps puniſhed, and this ſeverity will then be vindicated here, as well as elſewhere, by all thoſe auſtere dogmas which at preſent are neglected or forgotten *.

* It is to be hoped that it will be long, very long ere the *barbarous* prejudices and puniſhments of po-

I propoſed making a ſhort journey the next day to Hartford, fifteen miles only from the place I ſlept at, but it ſeeming to me impoſſible to perform it except on horſeback, I left the two State ſledges with Mr. Caſe, taking a receipt from him, which I afterwards delivered to Mr. Wadſworth. At firſt I was not ſatisfied with the exchange, as I travelled ſome time on heights covered with ſnow, well calculated for the ſledge, but

liſhed Europe ſhall be introduced into this happy country. At preſent, the natural commerce between the ſexes univerſally takes place, to the excluſion of exotic vices, and without involving the weak and unprotected female in all the horrors of ſhame, miſery and child-murder. Here libertiniſm is by no means the conſequence of an accidental frailty, nor is the mother, who in following the ſtrong impulſe of Nature, has given a member to ſociety, thrown an out-caſt upon the world, loſt to herſelf, and compelled to become vicious. The error of paſſion, though condemned, is venial, and ſhe is neither driven to deſpair by cruelty, nor excluded from the ſweet proſpect of giving birth to future offſpring, under the ſanction of every legitimate and ſacred title. Nothing is more common in this country, than ſuch ſlips in the firſt violence of an early puberty, nor leſs frequent than a repetition of the ſame weakneſs. TRANSLATOR.

but on deſcending towards Farmington river, I found the thaw compleat, and mud inſtead of ſnow. The woods I had juſt paſſed through, were very different from the *Greenwoods*; they were full of ſmall firs, whoſe verdant hue pleaſed the eye, and the road was by accident ſo prettily laid out, that it is impoſſible to imagine a better model for walks in the Engliſh ſtyle.

When I had paſſed Farmington river, I mounted a pretty long and ſteep hill, on which I obſerved, from time to time, objects intereſting to the lovers of natural hiſtory. You ſee, amongſt other things, large maſſes of rocks, or rather vaſt blocks of ſtone, which have no ſort of correſpondence with the reſt of the mountain, and appear as if they had been launched there by ſome volcano. I remarked one more ſingular than the reſt, and ſtopped to meaſure it: it is a ſort of *ſocle*, or long ſquare, thirty feet long by twenty high, and as many wide, not unlike the pedeſtal of the ſtatue of Peter the Great one ſees at Peterſburgh. On the eaſt ſide, it is ſplit from top to bottom, the crack is about a foot and a half wide at the top, but much

leſs at bottom. Some ſhrubs vegetate in the little earth there is, and on the very ſummit of the rock grows a ſmall tree, but I could not tell of what ſpecies. The ſtone is hard, of the nature of quartz, and is no wiſe volcanized.

I got to Hartford about three, and being informed that Mr. Wadſworth was abſent, I was afraid of incommoding his wife and ſiſter by going to lodge there, and went to a very good inn kept by Mr. *Bull*, who is accuſed of being rather *on the other ſide of the queſtion*; a polite method of deſignating a tory. I only made a tranſient viſit therefore to Mrs. Wadſworth, to invite myſelf to breakfaſt the next morning. The 5th I did not ſet out till eleven, although I had thirty miles journey to Lebanon. At the paſſage of the Ferry, I met with a detachment of the Rhode Iſland regiment, the ſame corps we had with us all the laſt ſummer, but they have ſince been recruited and cloathed. The greateſt part of them are negroes or mulattoes; but they are ſtrong, robuſt men, and thoſe I have ſeen had a very good appearance. We had fine weather

ther all day, and got to Lebanon at ſunſet. Not that I got to *Lebanon Meeting-houſe*, where the Duke de Lauzun was quartered with his Huſſars, that was ſix miles farther ſtill travelling in Lebanon. Who would not think after this, that I am ſpeaking of an immenſe city? and in fact, this is one of the moſt conſiderable towns in the country, for it conſiſts of at leaſt one hundred houſes; but it is unneceſſary to add, that they are much ſcattered, and diſtant from each other frequently more than four or five hundred paces.

It will be eaſily imagined that I was not ſorry to find myſelf in the French army, of which theſe Huſſars formed the advanced guard, although their quarters be ſeventy-five miles from Newport; but there are no circumſtances in which I ſhould not be happy with M. de Lauzun. For two months I had been talking, and liſtening, with him I converſed; for it muſt be allowed that converſation is ſtill the peculiar forte of the amiable French; a precious appendage for our nation, which it neglects poſſibly too much, and may one day chance to forfeit.

It

It is told of an Engliſhman accuſtomed to be ſilent, that he ſaid, *talking ſpoils converſation.* This whimſical expreſſion contains great ſenſe: every body can talk, but nobody knows how to liſten; inſomuch that the ſociety of Paris, ſuch as I left it, reſembles the chorus of an opera, which a few *coryphées* alone have a right to interrupt; each theatre has its particular coryphæus; each theatre has its chorus too, which chime in, and its pit which applaud without knowing why. Tranſplant the actors, or change the theatre, the effect of the piece is loſt. Fortunate for the ſpectators, when the ſtock is abundant, and they are not ſatiated with a repetition of the ſame production.

But I am got very far from America, where, I muſt return however, if it be only to hunt a few ſquirrels. The Duke de Lauzun entertained me with this diverſion, which is much in faſhion in this country. Theſe animals are large, and have a more beautiful fur than thoſe in Europe; like ours, they are very adroit in ſlipping from tree to tree, and in clinging ſo cloſely to the branches as to become almoſt inviſible. You frequent-

ly

ly wound them, without their falling; but that is a ſlight inconvenience, for you have only to call or ſend for ſomebody, who applies the hatchet to the tree, and preſently knocks it down. As ſquirrels are not rare, you will conclude then, and very juſtly, that trees are very common *. On returning from the chace, I dined at the Duke de Lauzun's, with Governor *Turnbull* and General Huntingdon. The former lives at Lebanon, and the other had come from *Norwich*. I have already painted Governor Turnbull,

* There are alſo a great number of *flying ſquirrels* in Connecticut. They are ſmaller than the others, which they greatly reſemble in their form and ſkin. Every body knows that they are called flying ſquirrels from the facility with which they ſupport themſelves a long time in the air, by means of a long membrane, or ſkin, attached to the lower part of their feet: when they are in action this is folded up under their bellies; but when they want to leap from one tree to another, they ſpread their feet, and this ſkin forms a kind of ſail which ſupports them in the air, and aſſiſts them even in their motion. There is alſo throughout North America another ſort of ſquirrels, called *land ſquirrels*, becauſe they do not climb the trees, but burrow in the earth like rabbits. Their hair is ſhorter, and of a deer colour, ſtriped with black. Theſe animals are very pretty, and not wild.

Turnbull, at preſent you have only to repreſent to yourſelf this little old man, in the antique dreſs of the firſt ſettlers in this colony, approaching a table ſurrounded by twenty Huſſar officers, and without either diſconcerting himſelf, or loſing any thing of his formal ſtiffneſs, pronouncing, in a loud voice, a long prayer in the form of a *benedicite*. Let it not be imagined that he excites the laughter of his auditors; they are too well trained: you muſt, on the contrary, figure to yourſelf twenty *amens* iſſuing at once from the midſt of forty muſtaches *, and you will have ſome idea of this little ſcene. But M. de Lauzun is the man to relate, how this good, methodical Governor, didactic in all his actions, invariably ſays, that he will *conſider*; that he muſt *refer* to his council; how of little affairs he makes great ones, and how happy a mortal he is when he has any to tranſact. Thus, in the two hemiſpheres, *Paris alone excepted*, ridicule muſt not imply inaptitude to

* The Huſſars of Lauzun's legion, and the Duke himſelf wore muſtaches in America.

TRANSLATOR.

to govern; ſince it is by the character men govern, and by the character men make themſelves ridiculous.

I propoſed leaving Lebanon the 7th at ten o'clock, but the weather was ſo bad that I ſtaid till paſt one, expecting it to clear up; I was obliged, however, to ſet out at laſt in a melting ſnow, the moſt continued, and the coldeſt I ever experienced. The bad weather urged me on ſo faſt that I arrived at Voluntown about five o'clock. If the reader recollects what I have ſaid at the beginning of my journal of Mr. Dorrance's houſe, he will not be ſurpriſed at my returning to it with pleaſure. Miſs Pearce however was no longer there, but ſhe was replaced by the youngeſt Miſs Dorrance, a charming pretty girl, although not ſo regular a beauty as her friend. She has, like her, modeſty, candour, and beauty in all her features; and has beſides, a ſerenity mixed with gaiety, which render her as amiable as the other is intereſting. Her eldeſt ſiſter had laid in ſince I was laſt at Voluntown; ſhe was in a great chair, near the fire, around which her family were ſeated. Her noble

and

and commanding countenance ſeemed more changed by misfortune than by ſuffering; yet every body about her was employed in conſoling and taking care of her; her mother, ſeated by her, held in her arms the infant, ſmiling at it, and careſſing it; but as for her, her eyes were ſorrowfully fixed upon the little innocent, eying it with intereſt, but without pleaſure, as if ſhe were ſaying to it, *miſero paragoletto il tuo deſtin, non ſai**. Never did a more intereſting or more moral picture exerciſe the pencil of a Greuze, or the pen of a tender poet. May that man be baniſhed from the boſom of ſociety who could be ſo barbarous as to leave this amiable girl a prey to a misfortune which it is in his power to repair; and may every benediction which heaven can beſtow be ſhowered on the being, generous and juſt enough to give her more legitimate titles to the hallowed names of wife and mother, and thus reſtore her, to all that happineſs, which Nature had deſigned her †.

My

* Unhappy child! thou knoweſt not the lot that is reſerved for thee. *Metaſtaſio.* *Demophoon.*

† *See* what is ſaid on this ſubject, in a note at the commencement of this Journal.

My journey henceforward affords nothing worthy of the ſmalleſt attention. I ſlept next day at Providence, and arrived the 9th at Newport; ſatisfied with having ſeen many intereſting things, without meeting with any accident; but with a ſorrowful reflection that the place I arrived at, after travelling ſo far, was ſtill fifteen hundred leagues from that where I had left my friends; where I ſhall enjoy the little knowledge I have acquired, by ſharing it with them; where I ſhall again be happy, if there ſtill be any happineſs in ſtore for me; the only place in ſhort, *dove da longhi errori ſpero di repoſar* *.

* I wiſh to recompence thoſe who ſhall have the patience to compleat the peruſal of this Journal, by laying before them the charming paſſage of *Metaſtaſio* from whence theſe words are borrowed.

L'Onda dal mar diviſa
Bagna la valla e il monte,
Va paſſagiera in fiume
Va prigioniera in fonte;
Mormora ſempre e geme
Fin che non torna al mar.

Al mar dove ella nacque
Dove acquiſto' gli umori
Dove da lunghi errori
Spera di repoſar.

The following is a free tranſlation:

The wave once ſeparated from the ſea, ſtrays over the mountains, or bathes the vallies: anon it travels with the rivers, &c. now is kept priſoner in the fountains; but it never ceaſes to murmur and complain until it returns unto the ſea.

To the ſea its native abode, to the ſea its laſt aſylum, where fatigued after its long wanderings, it hopes at length to find ſome repoſe.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

CHART
FOR THE JOURNAL OF
Mr. LE Mrvis DE CHASTELLUX
By Mr. Dezoteux Staff Officer
in the French Army.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
LONG ISLAND
RIV. DELAWARE
RIV. CONNECTICUT RIV.
NORTH RIVER
Crown Pt.
TICONDEROGA
Lake George
Fort Edward
Saratoga
Stillwater
Mohawk R.
Antonyskill
Halfmoon
Schenectady
ALBANY
Kinderhook
Claverack
Sheffield
Noblestown
Canaan
Livingstons Manor
Schuyler
Rhynbeak
Newhartford
Strasborough
Farmington
Pride
Tavern
Pogh
Keepsie
Harington
Litchfield
Washington
Middlebrook
Neventsorp
Moonstavern
Newborough
Fish kill
New Windsor
Chester
WEST POINT
STONY PT.
Kings Ferry
Beardtavern
Haverstran
Novel
Stamford
Sussex
Paramus
Moravianmill
Rye
Mamaroneck
Bas Kenridge
NEW YORK
Newark
Elizabeth Town
Somerset
Brunswick
Prince Town
Kingstown
Maidenhead
Trenton
Whitemarsh
Bristol
Germantown
Easton
Reading
Bethlehem
Kalfs
Tav
Northampton
Montgomery
Derby
Chester
Dilworth
PHILADELPHIA
Gloucester
Fort Red Bank
Brandywine
Wilmington
Newcastle
Head of Elk
Delaware Bay
Cape May
Susquehannah
Wioming
Harford
Bolton
Weterfield
Canterbury
Lebanon
Middleton
Colchester
New London
Scarborough
Newhaven
Stratford
Woodstock
Springfield
Clarkstavern
Chandlers
Salton
Grafton
Gates
Charles Town
Cambrige
Baronstn.
BOSTON
Wrentham
Windham
Plainfield
PROVIDENCE
Warren
Bristol
Portsmouth
Stonington
Judith Pt.
NEWPORT
Elizabeth Island
Martha's Vineyard
Nomans Island
Montuch Pt.
Merimack
Exeter
Greenland
Kingstown
Plaston
Haverhill
Andover
Newberry
Lexington
or Bellirika
Concord
Malborough
Shrewsbury
Harbour of Piscataqua
PORTSMOUTH
Hampton
Salisbury
Plumb Island
Ipswich
Winnisimy
Beverley
Lyn
Salem
Nahants Pt.
Pullings Pt.
Cape Anne
Jeffery's or George's Bank
Cape Cod
Crab Bank

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